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&
Stephen A.
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WAL-MART
PLAYS THE
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JEWS FOR
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THE NEW FACE OF PROTEST?

by KAREN HOUPPERT

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LETTERS

Letters

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

CHUNNEL VISION

Washington, DC

■ It is clear from his review of Olivier Todd's book on André Malraux that Stefan Collini has no doubts as to what is the major catastrophe in recent British history: the completion of the Channel Tunnel ["Grand Illusion," Feb. 28]. The review is immensely entertaining (I was carried back to High Table at an Oxbridge college at once). Still, a question will not go away. How did this French poseur manage to write *Man's Fate* or *The Imaginary Museum*?

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

'SOTU MOMENT'

Brentwood, NH

■ In the February 28 *Nation*, both Eric Alterman and Jonathan Schell mention the Iraqi woman who hugged the mom of the slain soldier at the State of the Union address. Both imply that there was something less than legitimate about this moment, but neither gave the identity of the Iraqi woman. Identified by Bush as Safia Taleb al-Suhail, the woman was a longtime Iraqi in exile and proponent of a US invasion of Iraq, did not live in Iraq at the time of the invasion and was appointed last year by the US-approved interim government as the Iraqi Ambassador to Egypt. I don't doubt al-Suhail's sincerity in that SOTU moment, but her background makes it clear that she is not some average Iraqi whose heart and mind was won over by the US invasion.

KAREN MCCOY

ANOTHER SOTU MOMENT

St. Paul

■ Eric Foner, in " 'Freedom' Belongs to All" [Feb. 14], nailed Bush and his flacks when he said, "Bush is a master at appropriating for conservative ends language associated with his opponents." As Foner states, Bush said "freedom" or a related term forty-nine times. He used "justice" or a related term only five times, deceptively at that.

Bush said, "In the long run, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without liberty." That, too, is deceptive; neither in the long run nor the short run can freedom exist without justice. Bush qualifies justice again in "history has an ebb and flow of justice, but history also has a visible direction set by liberty and the author of liberty." Bush must think that justice is but an afterthought in God's plans.

In such statements Bush and the Republicans reveal not only their invincible ignorance but that what they mean by "liberty" is unaccountable, irresponsible, unjust license. Right now they seem to have persuaded much of the American public that justice is not very important. The Democrats should correct that impression.

JAMES SMITH

SWASTIKAS & MAGNOLIAS

Lynchburg, Va.

■ Patricia J. Williams's comments on Prince Harry's swastika-decorated partying ["Diary of a Mad Law Professor," Feb. 28] appeared simultaneously with news stories here concerning the ad hoc resurgence of the same emblem on the uniforms of some of the cadets at Virginia Military Institute. VMI has always nurtured the culture of wounded Southern resentment with its memorialization of its cadets who marched off to the battle of New Market in the latter days of the Civil War. A scan of the social makeup of our troops in Iraq will reveal the overwhelming preponderance of young white guys from the South who're continuing to volunteer for the business of empire. Both here and in Germany, racially fueled militarism is on the march, with "homeland security" contributing the jackbooted resonance of *Heimatsversicherung*. Most recently, the Pentagon's online war game (www.americasarmy.com) presents the Anglo-Saxon crusader on a special mission to exterminate Third World enemies. Prince Harry, you're not alone.

JOSEPH HOUCK

JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH

Annapolis, Mo.

■ For once, I disagree with Katha Pollitt ["Subject to Debate," Feb. 7]. There is one biblical story where abortion was likely on the mind of the mother-to-be. Recall that the Virgin Mary was scared out of her mind; she was poor, pregnant, and her husband knew *he* wasn't the father. I imagine thoughts of using a garden herb, or maybe a sudden fall. It took the assurances of angels from on high to convince Mary that this pregnancy was a good thing. (Note that they said, "Fear not," as opposed to "Don't do it.") So she was persuaded to let this one go full term, helped by a supportive spouse (after he, too, got messages from on high), by kings with expensive gifts and by certain knowledge that this baby would be free of birth defects and that she as mother would be highly respected. If all women could be so reassured, there would be no need for abortions.

SUE HAGAN

OVER THE RAINBOW

Iowa City

■ I was delighted to see "Visualizing a Neo-Rainbow" by Danny Glover and Bill Fletcher Jr. [Feb. 14]. We who worked and voted for Jesse Jackson here in Iowa still refer to ourselves as Jackson Democrats, and we still measure each campaign by the Jackson campaign. He gave us *hope*. I wish everyone could have experienced the hope-filled faces, as I did, all across the state. For most of us it was life-changing. We knew we were in the presence of a great man. We also saw what new politics could be.

LORET MAST
Johnson County Co-Chair, Jackson '88

Portland, Ore.

■ Danny Glover and Bill Fletcher are right on. Here in Oregon, a coalition of various progressive organizations, working within and outside the Democratic Party, were important ingredients in the victories in November here for Kerry, in four of five Congressional races, getting control of the State Senate and in winning all four statewide office races. We in Oregon are continuing with such coordination for the future.

ROBERT STOLL

DEMS TO THE PASSING LANE

San Francisco

■ David Sirota is on target when he argues that the Democratic Party should return to its populist roots and ignore the siren song of those calling for a weak-kneed "centrism" ["Debunking 'Centrism,'" January 3]. Sirota offers extensive polling data showing that Americans oppose business as usual. Here's more: According to a *BusinessWeek* poll, 77 percent of citizens believe that "business has gained too much power over too many aspects of American lives." In another study, only 11 percent of respondents viewed corporations as "making the world a better place." And as for the so-called "free trade" policies touted by the DLC, support is on the decline even among more affluent Americans, as offshoring and outsourcing reach from blue-collar homes into white-collar ones.

The DLC's recommendation not to employ economic populism in the red states is especially shortsighted. Millions of farmers have been ruined by agribusiness giants like Cargill and Archer Daniels Midland, and many communities have responded with laws putting new restrictions on corporate farms. Anticorporate sentiment is alive and well in the heartland, and a corporate-accountability platform is precisely the kind of agenda that can unite urban and rural voters into a progressive majority.

As we show in our book *Insurrection: Citizen Challenges to Corporate Power*, for more than 200 years anticorporate sentiment has been the backbeat of American politics, and it remains so today. If the Democrats developed enough of a backbone to deliver a full-throated

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EDITORIALS

Democracy's Dilemmas

In what is being called the "cedar revolution," demonstrators in Beirut brought down the pro-Syrian government at the end of February and forced Damascus to announce the withdrawal of its 14,000 troops from Lebanon. This and other developments of recent weeks—municipal elections in Saudi Arabia and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's announcement of plans for competitive elections—lent support to the view that there is a new democratic opening in the Middle East. This is indeed welcome news. But it would be wrong to ignore the complexities of the situation, especially in Lebanon (where the prime minister who had just resigned was set to be reappointed) or to credit the Bush Administration's war on Iraq for the encouraging signs, as Beltway triumphalists are doing.

Pressure for elections and democratic reform has been building in many Arab societies for more than a decade. Just a few years after the low point reached in 1991, when elections were effectively canceled in Algeria, the cause of democratic reform got a boost in 1996 with the first Palestinian Authority elections in the occupied territories and with the Iranian elections the following year, which brought a reformer to power. Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco followed suit with parliamentary elections of varying degrees of openness. In Egypt and other Arab countries, democratic reform has become the major concern of a new generation of activists.

Official Washington was so preoccupied with Iraq and Islamist extremism during much of this period that it missed the signs of stirrings and lent them very little, if any, support. Then, too, many activists avoided any identification with Washington, fearing it would compromise their legitimacy. Even today, they doubt the Bush Administration's sincerity in its new emphasis on freedom and democracy, believing it may be a stalking-horse for further US attacks on any government deemed a potential threat to Israel.

In Lebanon, popular resentment against the Syrian occupation had been slowly building for some time. The original rationale for the Syrian presence—to serve as a peacekeeping force during the civil war—evaporated with the Taif Accords in 1989, which ended the civil conflict. But for years afterward, the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon deflected criticism of Syria's presence, since Syria was a leading backer of Hezbollah's guerrilla resistance against the Israelis, which was supported by most Lebanese. The turning point came after Hezbollah drove out the Israelis in 2000. That and the death of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad emboldened first the Lebanese Christians, then the Druse and Sunni population, to speak more openly against the heavy-handed Syrian presence. The assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, along with Syria's earlier pressure on Lebanon's parliament to amend the constitution to extend the term of President Émile Lahoud, coalesced anti-Syrian sentiment into a potent force for self-determination.

But this force aroused powerful domestic countercurrents: Lebanon's Shiites, who make up 40 percent of the population, avoided the demonstrations, suspicious that the United States is pressuring Syria to withdraw not to advance democracy in Lebanon but to weaken Syria and to force Hezbollah to disarm, thus depriving Lebanon of its strongest deterrent against Israeli aggression. On March 8 Hezbollah demonstrated its political and popular strength by organizing a massive rally of some 500,000 in support of the Syrians, dwarfing the crowds celebrating the cedar revolution. The Hezbollah demonstration showed that democracy and self-determination in Lebanon are not as straightforward a matter as the White House would have us believe. If

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it is to be successful, the Lebanese movement against the Syrian occupation will have to assuage the fears of the Shiites, rooted in longstanding US policy in the region. If the democratic movement thrives in Lebanon, it will be as much despite US pressure as because of it. Neoconservative strutting or, worse, interference could doom it.

It would also be a mistake to conclude that the cedar revolution in any way vindicates or legitimizes the US invasion of Iraq—the costs of which, as the occupation approaches the end of its second year, include 1,500 US troops and 100,000 Iraqi civilians dead and at least $200 billion spent. Rather, the larger lesson may be less about US-inspired democracy than about Arab self-determination and the rejection of occupation. If Syria withdraws its forces, a spotlight will be focused on the US occupation of Iraq, and on Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. This will put more pressure on Washington to prove its bona fides on questions of Arab self-determination.

The other important lesson of the cedar revolution is that the concerted action of a broad international coalition built around a United Nations Security Council resolution is far more effective in promoting change in the Middle East than is Washington's blustering and warmongering. France and the United States worked closely on UN Security Council Resolution 1559, calling for Syrian withdrawal, and Egypt, Jordan and several members of the Arab League added their weight.

The onus is on Washington to prove that its new rhetoric is not a disguise for an aggressive campaign for Israeli and US dominance in the region. It will have to show that it can live with election results, even if those results take an anti-American, anti-Israeli direction and even if they create governments that don't share our liberal values. Washington will also have to prove its good intentions by showing that it can bring equal pressure on its friends and allies in the region—Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia—to enlarge their limited democratic openings, and on Israel to expand and accelerate its withdrawal from the Palestinian territories. An early test will come in the spring elections in Lebanon, where Hezbollah is poised to make a strong showing, and in the West Bank and Gaza, where Hamas is likely to challenge President Mahmoud Abbas's Fatah movement. Washington considers Hezbollah and Hamas terrorist organizations, a view not shared by most European allies or by people in the region.

The triumphalists have given very little thought to these issues. What should be clear from our experience in Iraq, however, is that the dangers and dilemmas of democratization will increase if Washington pursues a military campaign against Syria and Iran while ignoring nascent reforms in places where US encouragement can make a positive and peaceful contribution.

Although the triumphalists are wrong in arguing that the democratic opening grew from the Iraq War and wrong to ignore the risks of instability and Islamist extremism the Bush agenda has helped create, they're right about one thing: In an age of satellite television and the Internet, it will be hard to put the genie of democracy back in the bottle. Washington must now act more responsibly than in the recent past, and it must work with its European allies and Middle Eastern countries themselves to make the emerging democratic process more liberal and more orderly.

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COMMENT

Cedar or Sapling?

Beirut

Ever since a massive bomb killed former prime minister Rafik Hariri on February 14, downtown Beirut has evolved into a solemn carnival, halfway between a wake and a rave. Outside the behemoth al-Amin mosque, where Hariri and his bodyguards are buried, young Beirutis camp out every evening to light candles, flirt and call for an end to the Syrian occupation. Once Lebanon's pro-Syrian prime minister resigned, local and international media picked up the drumbeat of peaceful regime change, trumpeting this nightly gathering as the next Kiev or Tbilisi. Could this be the Arab world's first bloodless coup—a velvet intifada?

Maybe. But the "cedar revolution," as the US State Department dubbed it, isn't over yet. The young protesters are drawn mainly from Beirut's middle and upper classes, predominantly Christian and Druse, with some Sunni Muslims, but almost no Shiites. On March 8, half a million demonstrators—mainly, but not all, Shiites—showed up for a counterdemonstration that made the cedar revolution look like a sapling.

The sheer numbers showed wide support for Syria among Shiites, who at 40 percent are the single largest confessional group in Lebanon (and, historically, the most disenfranchised). But it also showed the depth of support for Hezbollah, the Syria-backed guerrilla group and political party. As both sides dig in on either side of the Syria question, Lebanon heads for a looming showdown—not just over Syria but over UN Resolution 1559, which requires Hezbollah to lay down its arms. Meanwhile, with Lebanon facing parliamentary elections this spring, both sides will have to appoint a transitional government together, what Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah has described as "a national unity government."

"The question now becomes, In Lebanon, can a group of people come up with a vision that allows people to rise above their confession and their political differences?" says D. Roman Kulchitsky, a professor of political science at the American University of Beirut. "That's a very important question, and I don't think it has been answered yet."

When the bomb that killed Hariri exploded, the last thing anyone expected was a joyous celebration. Angry crowds gathered outside Hariri's house; radio stations switched from upbeat pop hits to Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings*. At the American University of Beirut, students and staff gathered in the cafeteria to watch television. "When they announced he was dead the university went quiet, completely," says Anthony Letayf, a 21-year-old AUB student getting his BA in political science. "We were all in a state of shock."

Letayf, a Lebanese-American who lived in Detroit until 1996, is a campus organizer for the Free Patriotic Movement. A mostly Christian political party, the FPM is loyal to Gen. Michel Aoun, the exiled former chief of staff of Lebanon's army. In 1988 Aoun declared a separate government in East Beirut, and the city was split in half, with two separate governments, until the Syrian army bombed him out of the presidential palace, effectively ending the war. After the war, Syria became the main power broker in Lebanon.

Today, the FPM is a cornerstone of Lebanon's growing anti-Syrian opposition movement, along with the mainly Christian and Lebanese forces; the Progressive Socialist Party, headed by Druse leader Walid Jumblatt, whose father was assassinated by Syria; and dozens of smaller parties. The parties are driving much of the peaceful protest downtown, supplying protesters with food, coffee, water, instructions and an endless supply of Lebanese flags. Hariri's funeral procession on February 16, which attracted hundreds of thousands, was dominated by party flags and pictures of Christian warlords like Aoun, Bashir Gemayel and Samir Geagea.

By February 18, when the groups decided to keep the pressure up with a massive demonstration the following Monday, a week after Hariri's death, their orders were clear: no party flags. "For Monday's demo, all the groups had agreed: Lebanon's flag, period," says Letayf. It was a brilliant decision. While the parties form the backbone of the anti-Syrian opposition, many of their banners and pictures brought back bitter memories: Gemayel and Geagea, for example, butchered thousands of Lebanese Muslims and Palestinian refugees. Replacing the party symbols with crescents and crosses made it seem to the rest of the world that Beirut had somehow managed to transcend its sectarian tensions.

That was less clear in the *dahiya*, the sprawling, mostly Shiite suburbs that ring Beirut's glittering downtown. There, where most of Beirut's population lives but where Western reporters rarely venture, people scorn downtown's ongoing carnival. "As an area, as the *dahiya*, we're not concerned about what's happening in downtown," says Issam Assaf, a 19-year-old college student. "We regard what's happening as a joke."

Literally. A few weeks after Hariri's killing, a text message started to make the rounds of Beirut's famously ubiquitous cell phones. It referred to something that happened more than thirteen centuries ago—the murder of Imam Hussein, grandson of the Prophet Mohammed, in the year 680, which forever cleaved Islam into Sunni and Shiite sects. "The Shiites are calling for a full investigation of the murder of the martyr Hussein," it reads, in Arabic. "The main suspect is the Syrian Umayyad caliph."

It's a rich joke, gently mocking several things at once: the Shiite tendency to nourish centuries-old grievances, as well as the oppo-

FROM THE PUBLISHER

Masthead watchers will note that with this issue I have dropped the editorial director half of my title. This change is recognition of a happy reality. For the past ten years Katrina vanden Heuvel, who started as a *Nation* intern in 1979, has sat in the editor's chair and more than filled the editor's shoes. She is, as she has been and will continue to be, the *Nation*'s editor. She is her own editorial director. Former *Nation* editor Carey McWilliams once said that the editor of *The Nation* is captive of *The Nation*'s tradition. I am pleased to say that Katrina has already done much to shape that tradition.

VICTOR NAVASKY, Publisher

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COMMENT

sition's demands for a full investigation into Hariri's killing, the latest in a series of unsolved political assassinations that stretch far into Lebanon's past. But the joke also reflects deep-seated Shiite skepticism toward the anti-Syrian uprising. On March 6, Nasrallah suggested that the anti-Syrian opposition bloc was poised to sign a peace agreement with Israel—fighting words for Shiites, most of whom live in or have strong ties to the country's south, where memories of the Israeli occupation, which ended in May 2000, are still raw. "The people who are protesting now," says Assaf, "we had an eighteen-year Israeli occupation. Where were they?"

Assaf is no religious militant. With his baseball cap and goatee, he would fit in perfectly with the demonstrators downtown. Instead, he's standing outside the Petit Internet Café in Tayouneh, where he and his friends go to surf the Internet and play video games. It's a secular, lower-middle-class crowd, both boys and girls, no veils. But this is Hezbollah country: When it comes to politics, no matter how religious they are or aren't, most people here support Hezbollah, whose name means Party of God.

Hezbollah was founded by Lebanese Shiites, with help from Iran and Syria, when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. But while the other armed militias that sprang up during Lebanon's fifteen-year civil war have all disarmed, the Lebanese government preserved Hezbollah's status as armed "resistance" against Israel—even after Israeli troops left. In part that's because Hezbollah is useful to Syria: For years Damascus has allowed Iranian arms to flow to Hezbollah through Syrian territory, keeping Hezbollah as a bargaining chip with Israel in its ongoing bid to regain the Golan Heights, a strip of land Syria lost to Israel in the 1967 war. But maintaining Hezbollah's status as an armed resistance against Israel still has widespread support in Lebanon, especially among Shiites.

"We are the majority, not them," says Assaf. "They can have 200,000 or 300,000 people on the streets. That's fine, but we can have a million."

No empty boast, as it turns out. ANNIA CIEZADLO

Annia Ciezadlo has written for The New Republic *and the* Christian Science Monitor.

CALVIN TRILLIN

ON THE SECRET 'RENDITION' OF TERROR SUSPECTS TO COUNTRIES KNOWN TO USE TORTURE

As Jesus said to render unto Caesar
A portion of thy grain or of thy stock,
Our policy's to render unto Caesar
In hopes that he'll apply electric shock.

Darfur and Development

The recent United Nations Commission of Inquiry's report on Darfur may be right or wrong in claiming that the atrocities committed in the region do not amount to genocide. But what matters far more than that designation, or the report's identification of those responsible for the violence, is the fact that the conflict in Darfur continues unabated. And unless the international community takes meaningful action, the situation will not improve; the leaders of the Janjaweed militias and the government officials behind them will be raping, killing and pillaging all the way to the courtroom door—that is, if the United States and the UN ever settle their differences over which court will try the perpetrators.

The UN has adopted two resolutions to date that "threaten" sanctions against the Sudan government if the violence in Darfur is not ended, but there is no agreement on what those sanctions should be or what will trigger them. Even if oil sanctions are ruled out because of China's stake in Sudan's oil, the Security Council must pursue other options, such as an arms embargo or an assets freeze on government officials' overseas wealth.

Although ending the violence in Darfur should be the top priority, it is also important to keep the larger picture in sight. As one Sudanese aid worker put it, Sudan is like an endlessly disintegrating garment: Just as one hole is stitched up, another opens up. This has certainly been the pattern over the past twenty years. In the mid-1980s, an offshoot of the north-south civil war broke out in the Nuba Mountains in central Sudan, a conflict that lasted more than ten years and led to the large-scale destruction of civilian life. And just as the north-south civil war began to wind down, the Darfur conflict ignited. Now, as attention is focused on ending the Darfur crisis, there is turbulence in other parts of the country. In the state of Western Kordofan, a new rebel group, known as Al-Shahamah, has taken up arms. In the northeast, the Beja Congress and the Free Lions have been clashing with the government for years, a conflict that, by the looks of recent developments, may intensify.

The main root of all these conflicts is the injustice of the Khartoum government. While that government has grown rich from the oil in the south and the mechanized farming schemes in the east and west, it has systematically and consistently denied the peoples of these regions equal access to wealth and development, including equal access to education, healthcare and economic opportunity. The rallying cry that is common to all the rebel groups that have taken up arms against the government over the past two decades has been this: that their people be allowed to share in the benefits of the wealth generated under their feet.

These conflicts are not, as is often depicted, merely racial or cultural. As Alex de Waal, director of the peace and democracy group Justice Africa, has noted, describing the Darfur war in terms of "Arabs" versus "Africans" is misleading: Partly because of a long history of mixing and intermarriage, it is difficult to distinguish one group from the other based on racial or physical characteristics. And as de Waal also points out, the "Arabs" of

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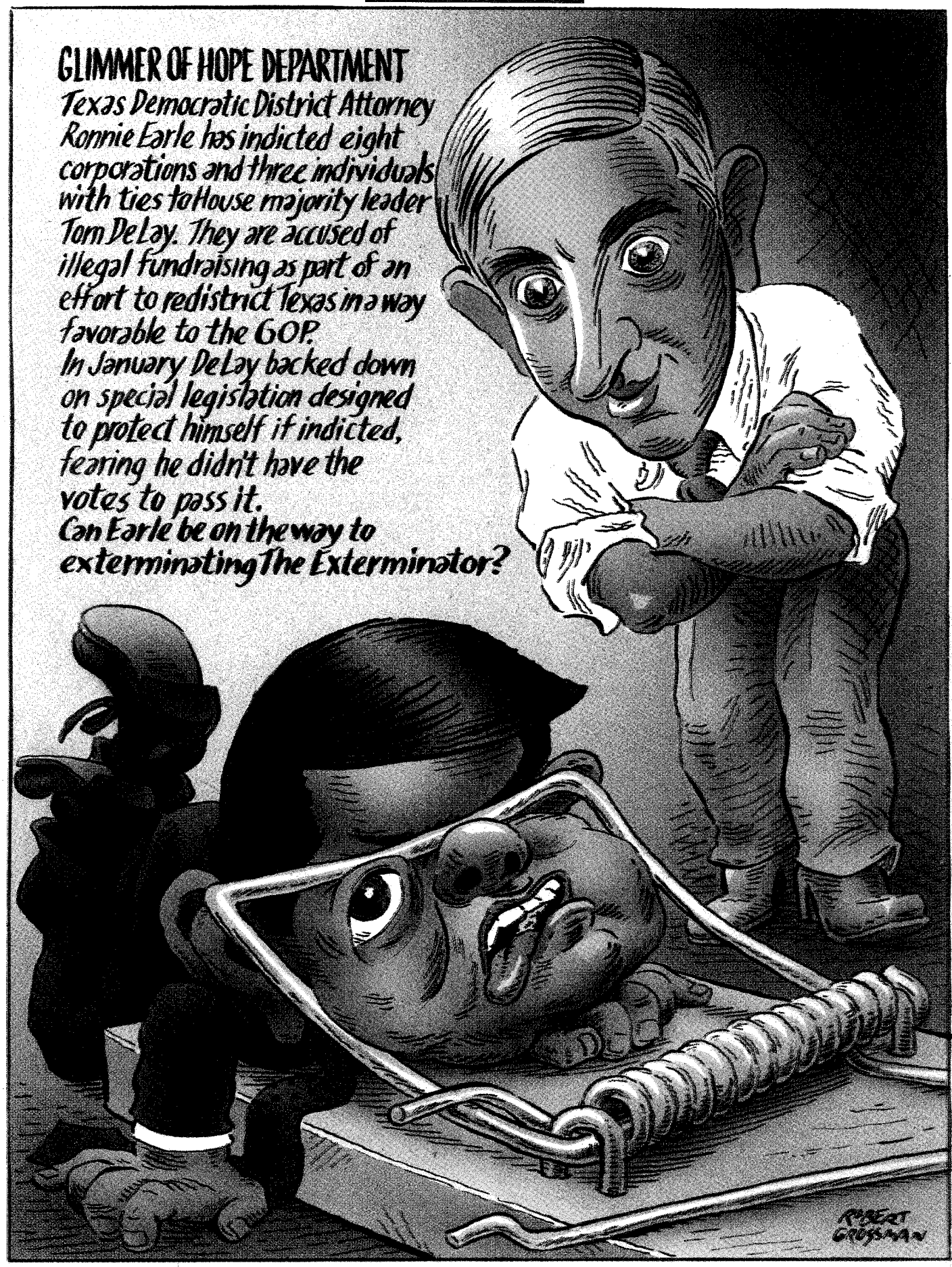
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Can Earle be on the way to exterminating The Exterminator?
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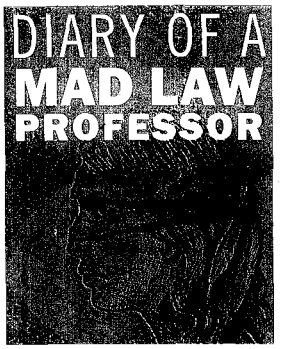
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Grim Fairy Tales



It seemed too bizarre to be anything but apocryphal, but, hey, I heard it on NPR: William Poole, a high school junior from Kentucky, was taken into custody and charged with threatening to commit second-degree-felony terrorism for writing a story about a horde of zombies who wreak havoc in a school. It seems the boy's grandparents had been reading his journal, found a story he'd been writing for English class and promptly turned him in. According to a police detective, "Anytime you make any threat or possess matter involving a school or function, it's a felony in the state of Kentucky." Based on that kind of reasoning, a judge raised Poole's bond from $1,000 to $5,000 after prosecutors requested it, citing the seriousness of the charge.

I can't imagine what was going on in the hearts and minds of Poole's grandparents—are they the sort who would burn copies of *Harry Potter*? Do they harbor some religiously based objection to zombies, akin to witchcraft? How great must be their fear, and how little their love! But however subjective or obscure the motives of the grandparents, it does seem to me that the detective and prosecutor are the kind of strict textualists upon whom the "war on terror" has showered foolish amounts of power. "My story is based on fiction," said Poole; but in Clark County, Kentucky, the law is the word. Last heard, he was dispatched to jail to await mercy and a sense of perspective. Let's hope his grandparents don't find any scribblings about manga demons, or he'll be in there for life.

Oh well. At least Poole will be relieved to learn that the Supreme Court recently banned execution of juvenile offenders. In *Roper v. Simmons*, Justice Kennedy, writing for a 5-to-4 majority, cited recent neurological and sociological studies establishing that the overwhelming majority of those under 18 are not developmentally mature enough to be swayed by the incentives of either retribution or deterrence, the two stated justifications for the death penalty. Kennedy's opinion also cited an international consensus against executing juveniles—noting "the stark reality that the United States is the only country in the world that continues to give official sanction to the juvenile death penalty."

But given the likely shift with even a single new Bush appointee to the Court, Mr. Poole would do well to heed the dissent in *Roper*, written by Justice Scalia and joined by Bush's two other favorite models for the future, Thomas and Rehnquist. (Justice O'Connor, true to her role as straddler *extraordinaire*, wrote a separate dissent arguing that some juveniles were mature enough to be executed, some not, and that it should be decided on a case-by-case basis.) Scalia, who once stated that the death penalty is no big deal to practicing Christians who believe in an afterlife, angrily denounced the majority for taking "guidance from the views of foreign courts and legislatures." Although the majority also cited the fact that thirty states have banned such executions and that it is exceedingly rare in the remaining twenty, Justice Scalia complained that "because I do not believe that the meaning of our Eighth Amendment, any more than the meaning of other provisions of our Constitution… should be determined by the subjective views of five Members of this Court and like-minded foreigners, I dissent."

At least as much as for the substance, I think Scalia's rhetorical turns are worth picking apart. First, the majoritarian consensus of the states and of the Supreme Court—oh, yes, and the rest of the planet—are tossed aside as "subjective." That purported subjectivity is then effectively singularized—he casts it not as a considered, collective vote by a body charged with the construction of the Bill of Rights but rather as a lone spurt of univocal arbitrariness.

The Court, Scalia goes on to say, "thus proclaims itself sole arbiter of our Nation's moral standards." By this gesture, Scalia seemingly denigrates the very function of the Court: It is, after all, the highest and final—if not the sole—arbiter of cases and controversies. The very supremacy of the Supreme Court is made to seem almost irrelevant, partly because in Scalia's construct, the Court is supposedly setting "moral standards" rather than deciding legal limits. "Morality" is figured as almost stolen in such a frame—as snatched from the will of the many and sacrificed to greedy, elitist, injudicious, nonlegislative dictators flying "solo." (Justice Stevens, in a concurring opinion, makes a point of addressing the question of morality and the Court's reference to evolving standards of decency: "If the meaning of [the Eighth] Amendment had been frozen when it was originally drafted, it would impose no impediment to the execution of 7-year-old children today.")

Scalia, of course, is a literalist, hewing to what he maintains is the original intent of the Framers and unusually narrow interpretive models: "Words have no meaning if the views of less than 50 percent of death penalty States can constitute a national consensus." He finds the assertion of a national consensus "implausible" because "Consulting States that bar the death penalty concerning the necessity of making an exception to the penalty for offenders under 18 is rather like including old-order Amishmen in a consumer-preference poll on the electric car. Of *course* they don't like it, but that sheds no light whatever on the point at issue." The Court itself, he intones repeatedly, has done nothing but "look over the heads of the crowd and pick out its friends."

This battle over words and their meanings is at root a struggle about fundamentalism—whether judicial, religious or any other form. The majority opinion in *Roper* meant—really meant—that seventy-two young people who committed their crimes under the age of 18 will get to live a while longer. The literalism with which a young boy's zombie story is tied to national panic about seeping, undifferentiated terror means—really means—that we had all better watch our loose references to unprincipled vampires and narrow-minded ghouls. As Andrew Marvell wrote: "Besides the force it has to fright/The spirits of the shady night,/The same arts that did gain/A power, must it maintain." ■

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ERIC ALTERMAN

Anti-Semite? Self-Hating Jew? *Moi*?

That the *Boston Globe* is a great newspaper can be in no doubt, as its brave (though flawed) reporting on sexual abuse in the Catholic Church has recently demonstrated. But the paper's opinion columnists have proven a constant source of embarrassment in recent years, producing not merely the fantasist Patricia Smith but also two plagiarists, Mike Barnicle and Jeff Jacoby.

No less a source of shame for the paper has been its publication of a previously obscure right-wing pundit named Cathy Young. Her most recent transgression involves yours truly, but it's hardly the first time she has embarrassed her employers.

In March 2004, relying on a faulty translation, Young misquoted European Commission President Romano Prodi making the unlikely argument that "using force is not the answer to resolving the conflict with terrorists," and then spun the misquote into a fatuous equation of Europe's opposition to Bush's Iraq folly with "appeasement" of terrorists. But the really odd thing about Young's mistake, as Tim Francis-Wright has pointed out, was that when she finally got around to correcting the mistake, she didn't. The *Globe*'s correction simply restated the original false rendering of Prodi's quote.

Young's attack on me shared some of these bizarre qualities. She seized on a brief blog item I wrote on Altercation.msnbc.com, in which I noted the insensitivity of demanding that Arabs attend Holocaust remembrance ceremonies that (of course) made no mention of what many Arabs believe to be the Holocaust's connection to what they consider their own "catastrophe"—namely, the founding of the State of Israel. Young distorted my argument to accuse me of anti-Semitism and self-hatred, using an ellipsis to make it appear as if I were describing the founding of the Jewish state as a "catastrophe" rather than attributing that view to Palestinians and their Arab supporters. She went even further, insisting that by acknowledging that Palestinians and their supporters perhaps had reason to be less than thrilled with the creation of Israel, I was actually—I kid you not—blaming "long-dead Holocaust victims" and arguing that "every Muslim is justified in viewing every Jew as the enemy." (In fact, the item in question spoke of Arabs, not "Muslims." Neither Young nor her editor, Nick King, appears to understand the difference.)

Were it not for the fact that the approximately 474,845 people who read the daily *Globe* now consider me an anti-Semitic, self-hating Jew, the episode would be ridiculous. Young describes herself as a "nonobservant Jew." She sure got the nonobservant part right. A former girlfriend of *Wall Street Journal* right-winger John Fund—which may or may not explain everything—Young has no profile whatever in Jewish affairs, Middle East debates or discussions of anti-Semitism. Your columnist, on the other hand, is not only a pretty serious Jew—bar mitzvah, educated in Israel, lights candles on Friday night, goes to shul, sends the kid to Hebrew school, contributes to the *Forward*, etc.—but has been writing on Israel and anti-Semitism, speaking in synagogues, minoring in Jewish studies during doctoral work, etc., since first publishing on anti-Semitism at Yale, in, um, the *Boston Globe* twenty years ago, when he was the paper's stringer there. (The piece was deemed so sensitive to Jewish concerns, I received a congratulatory letter from none other than Martin Peretz, who invited me to contribute to *The New Republic*.)

When I attempted to redress some of Young's damage with a letter to the paper containing the original blog item, the *Globe* truncated it, preventing its readers from seeing the evidence. The paper also refused to publish letters from a number of prominent Jewish voices, like that of M.J. Rosenberg, policy director of the Israel Policy Forum, and Jo-Ann Mort, a national board member of Americans for Peace Now (some of the letters the *Globe* didn't publish can be found at www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6980484/). When the editors did finally run a letter in support of my work, from Boston attorney and Jewish peace activist Geoffrey Lewis, they not only edited it self-protectively but mistitled it,"He's Pro-Israel," as if that were somehow the point. (Just ask Jerry Falwell if it's possible to like Israel and still claim all Jews are going to hell.) The paper's own ombudsman, meanwhile, termed Young's column "ad hominem" and "not worthy of an opinion page where readers expect (and usually get) thoughtful analysis and insight."

Boston Phoenix media critic Dan Kennedy wondered, "How could a toxic suggestion that Alterman is a 'self-hating' Jew make it through the editing process?" True, it is the kind of thing one reads all the time in the swamps of the conservative blogosphere—indeed, David Horowitz ran it untouched. But the *Boston Globe*? King, Young's editor, has admitted to me that he never read the blog item in question—you can read it at www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6968346/#050215—and would not say that he thought her accusations accurate. Rather he termed them to be "provocative"—as if this were a sufficient excuse for an attempt to ruin someone's reputation. For her part, King's boss, editorial page editor Renee Loth, in response to a series of questions I e-mailed her for this column, declined to address any of them because, she said, they "get into internal editorial operations." So the *Globe* feels it is entitled to destroy a reputation established over two decades while simultaneously investigating the internal operations of any powerful entity it chooses, but when one of the victims of its own abuse of power who happens to have a media column seeks to clarify just how it took place, its editors claim the equivalent of "executive privilege." Is it any wonder so many people resent the media?

Whether she sought payback for what I've written in *The Nation* about her ex-boyfriend or merely to silence anyone who expresses sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians, the result of Young's clumsy slander is to aid the cause of anti-Semitism by revealing the political motivation of those who use the accusation as nothing more than a convenient ideological weapon. As Peace Now's Jo-Ann Mort wrote to the *Globe*, "With friends like Cathy Young, the Jews don't need enemies." Neither does journalism. ■

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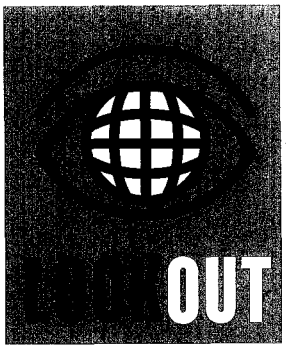
NAOMI KLEIN

Can Democracy Survive Bush's Embrace?



It started off as a joke and has now become vaguely serious: the idea that Bono might be named president of the World Bank. US Treasury Secretary John Snow recently described Bono as "a rock star of the development world," adding, "He's somebody I admire."

The job will almost certainly go to a US citizen, one with even weaker credentials, like Paul Wolfowitz. But there is a reason Bono is so admired in the Administration that the White House might just choose an Irishman. As frontman of one of the world's most enduring rock brands, Bono talks to Republicans as they like to see themselves: not as administrators of a diminishing public sphere they despise but as CEOs of a powerful private corporation called America. "Brand USA is in trouble...it's a problem for business," Bono warned at the World Economic Forum in Davos. The solution is "to re-describe ourselves to a world that is unsure of our values."

The Bush Administration wholeheartedly agrees, as evidenced by the orgy of redescription that now passes for American foreign policy. Faced with an Arab world enraged by its occupation of Iraq and its blind support for Israel, the US solution is not to change these brutal policies; it is, in the pseudo-academic language of corporate branding, to "change the story."

Brand USA's latest story was launched on January 30, the day of the Iraqi elections, complete with a catchy tag line ("purple power"), instantly iconic imagery (purple fingers) and, of course, a new narrative about America's role in the world, helpfully told and retold by the White House's unofficial brand manager, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman. "Iraq has been reframed from a story about Iraqi 'insurgents' trying to liberate their country from American occupiers and their Iraqi 'stooges' to a story of the overwhelming Iraqi majority trying to build a democracy, with U.S. help, against the wishes of Iraqi Baathist-fascists and jihadists." This new story is so contagious, we are told, that it has set off a domino effect akin to the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of Communism. (Although in the "Arabian Spring," the only wall in sight—Israel's apartheid wall—pointedly stays up.)

As with all branding campaigns, the power is in the repetition, not in the details. Obvious non sequiturs (is Bush taking credit for Arafat's death?) and screeching hypocrisies (occupiers against occupation!) just mean it's time to tell the story again, only louder and more slowly, obnoxious tourist–style. Even so, with Bush now claiming that "Iran and other nations have an example in Iraq," it seems worth focusing at least briefly on the reality of the Iraqi example. The state of emergency was just renewed for its fifth month, and the United Iraqi Alliance, despite winning a clear majority, still can't form a government. The problem is not that Iraqis have lost faith in the democracy for which they risked their lives on January 30; it's that the electoral system imposed on them by Washington is profoundly undemocratic.

Terrified at the prospect of an Iraq ruled by Iraqis, former chief US Envoy Paul Bremer designed elections that gave the US-friendly Kurds 27 percent of the seats in the National Assembly even though they make up as little as 15 percent of the population. And since the US-authored interim constitution requires an absurdly high majority for all major decisions, the Kurds now hold the country hostage. Their central demand is control over Kirkuk; if they get it, and then decide to separate, Iraqi Kurdistan will handily include the massive northern oilfields.

Kurdish Iraqis have a legitimate claim to independence, as well as understandable fears of being ethnically targeted. But the US-Kurdish alliance has handed Washington a backdoor veto over Iraq's democracy. And with Kirkuk as part of Iraqi Kurdistan, if Iraq does break apart Washington will still end up with a dependent, oil-rich regime—even if it's somewhat smaller than the one originally envisioned.

This type of bald colonial interference is already threatening to turn Lebanon's "cedar revolution" fairy tale into a nightmare. By all accounts, most Lebanese would like to see Syria withdraw from their country. But as the hundreds of thousands who participated in the March 8 pro-Hezbollah demonstration made clear, they are unwilling to have their desire for independence hijacked by the interests of Washington and Tel Aviv. By linking Lebanon's independence movements to American designs for the region, the Bush Administration is weakening Lebanon's secularists and religious moderates and increasing the power of Hezbollah. Which is precisely what Bremer did in Iraq: Whenever he needed a good news hit, he had his picture taken at a newly opened women's center, a trick that set the feminist movement back decades. (The centers are now mostly closed, and hundreds of secular Iraqis who worked with the coalition in local councils have been murdered.)

The problem is not just guilt by association. It's also that the Bush definition of liberation robs democratic forces of their most potent tools. The only idea that has ever stood up to kings, tyrants and mullahs in the Middle East is the promise of economic justice, brought about through nationalist and socialist policies of agrarian reform and state control over oil. But there is no room for such ideas in the Bush narrative, in which free people are only free to choose so-called free trade. That leaves secularists with little to offer but empty talk of "human rights"—a weedy weapon against the powerful swords of ethnic glory and eternal salvation.

George W. Bush likes to say that democracy has the power to defeat tyranny. He's right, and that's precisely why it is so very dangerous for history's most powerful emancipatory idea to be bundled into an empty marketing exercise. Allowing the Bush Administration to fold the liberation struggles of Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine into its own "story" is a gift to authoritarians and fundamentalists. Freedom and democracy need to be liberated from Bush's deadly embrace and returned to the movements of the Middle East that have been struggling for these goals for decades. They have a story of their own to finish. ■

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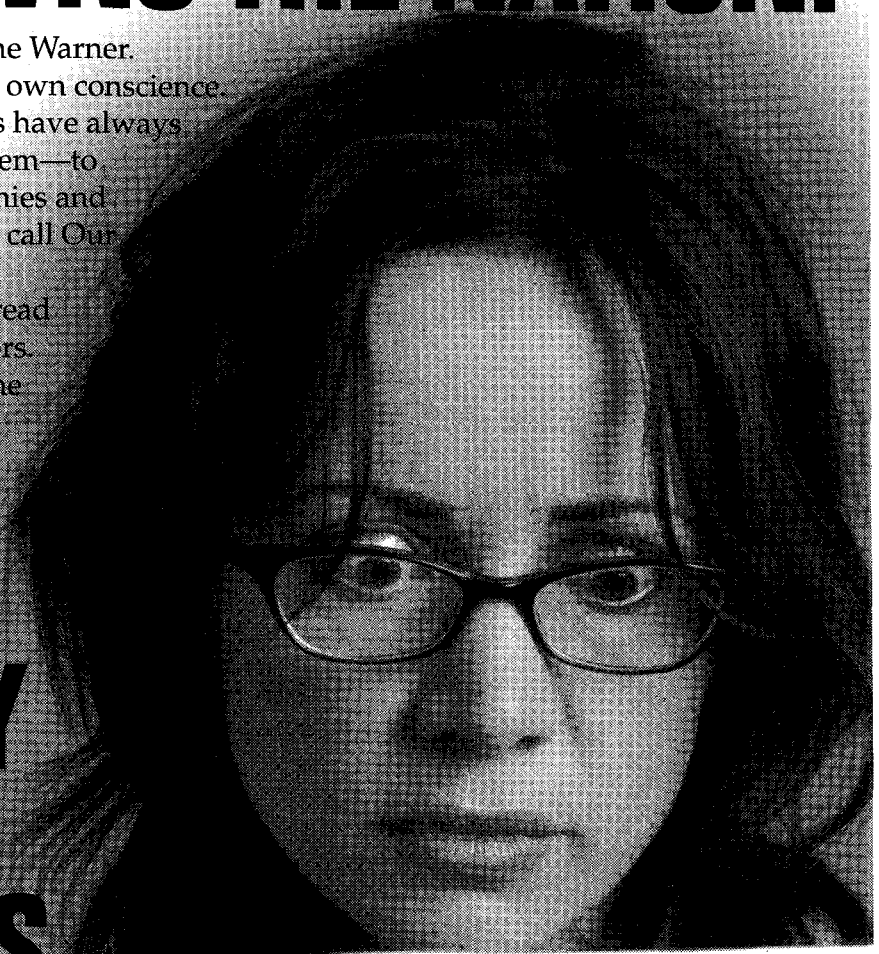

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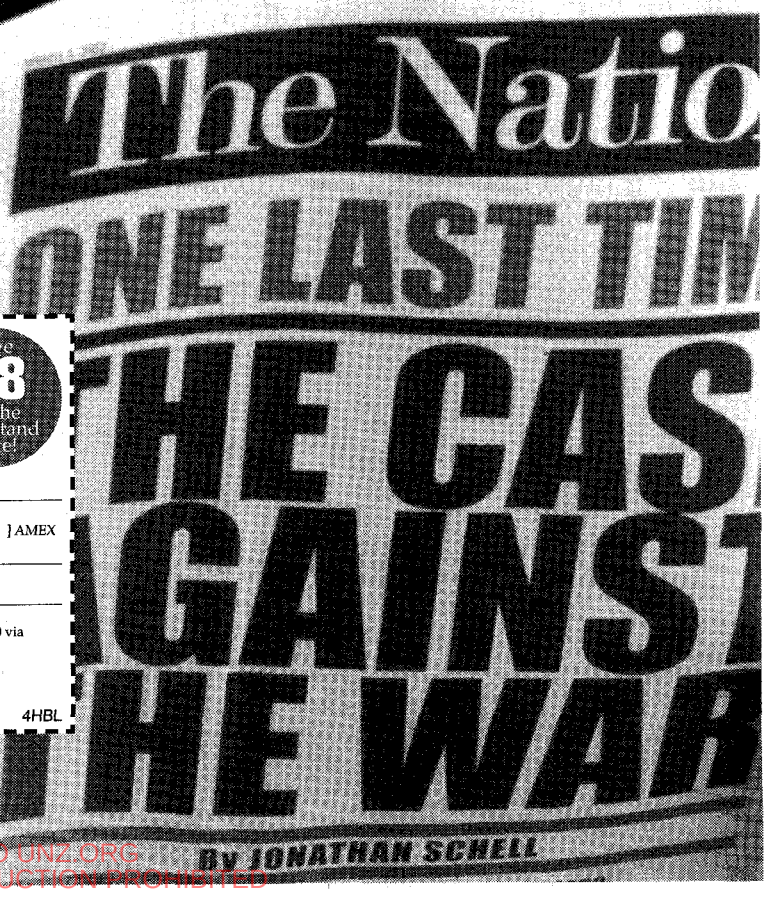

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ARTICLES

THE NEW FACE OF PROTEST?

by KAREN HOUPPERT

On a Sunday afternoon in February a young man made a plea to a room full of 400 antiwar activists who had gathered in St. Louis for three days of strategizing on how to end the war in Iraq. "I'm probably the most experienced activist in my organization and I've been an activist for one year," 25-year-old Michael Hoffman said, "so we need your help with logistics." In return, he promised that his group would serve as a shield. "When there are massive protests, we will be out front. We will say that you are doing everything you can to support the troops by demanding that this war is ended, and ended now, so that the troops are brought home and cared for when they return."

His speech was short, but it was one of the few that brought whoops, cheers and a standing ovation from the crowd of United for Peace and Justice delegates, a national coalition of more than 1,000 antiwar groups. As he left the dais and made his way through the crowd, he seemed surprised by the reaction he got—indeed, surprised to find himself in this role of war resister.

Until the summer of 2003, Michael Hoffman was a US Marine with the Tenth Regiment. Hoffman, who says he believed from the beginning that this was a war for oil, had been slated to get out of the service before his unit shipped out to Kuwait in February 2003. But two days before Hoffman's time was up, his sergeant called him to let him know that the Secretary of the Navy had instituted "stop loss," which meant that those soldiers deemed necessary to the war could not get out of the service when promised; Hoffman would be going to Iraq instead of home to Allentown, Pennsylvania. What Hoffman saw when his unit went into Iraq on March 20 only hardened his opposition to the war. "Seeing the civilian casualties and the horrible things that were done and the destruction we laid on that country, it seemed pretty clear to me that we never had the Iraqis' best interests in mind," he says.

Today, Hoffman is a co-founder of the fledgling organization Iraq Veterans Against the War and also a centerpiece of the peace movement's emerging strategy. Antiwar activists are determined to make the military a major pillar of the movement, both by homing in on one of the war effort's weak spots—the military's faltering campaign to recruit new soldiers—and by embracing antiwar troops. Perhaps recalling the late but powerful entrance of the voices of Vietnam vets in the protests of that era—like, say, the youthful Lieut. John Kerry, who once spoke eloquently about what he saw in Vietnam—today's 1960s-activist-stacked peace movement hopes to be more strategic about the military's role.

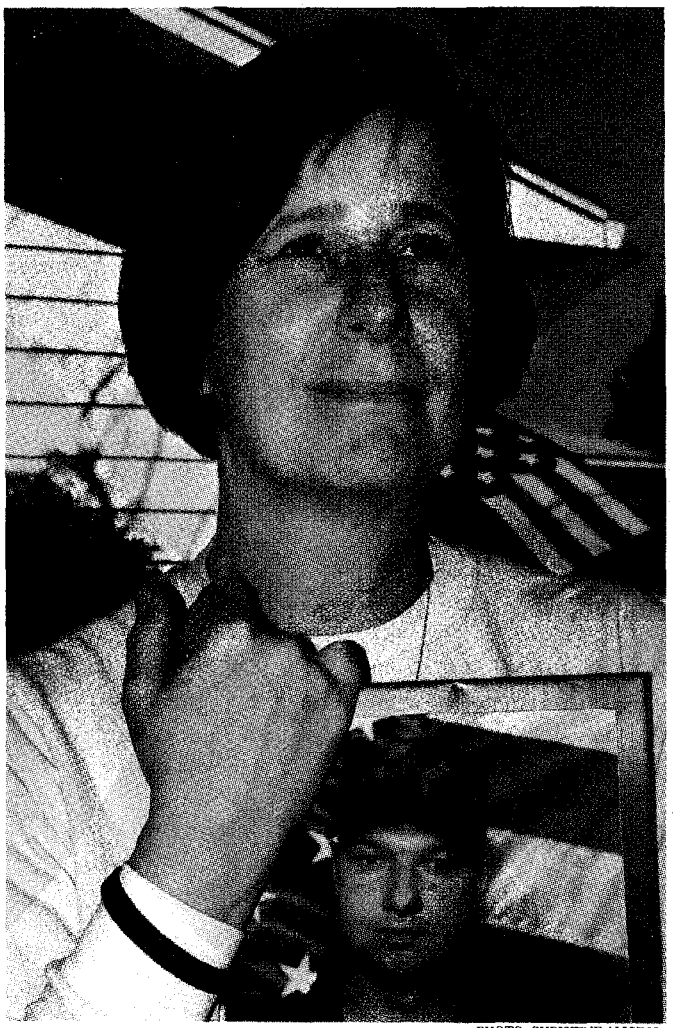

PHOTO: CHRISTINE ALICINO

It is an alliance rich with promise. Part of the challenge for this peace movement is persuading Americans that attacking the war is not the same thing as attacking the troops. The Vietnam-era mythology of antiwar activists spitting on soldiers is still alive and well in the American psyche (no matter how many times its veracity has been called into question). Putting veterans on the front lines of the peace movement subverts this image. At the same time, this tactic has drawbacks—among them is that it risks reinforcing the notion that civilian opposition to war is somehow less legitimate.

For now, buoyed by news reports of dissent in the ranks, antiwar leaders are convinced that soldiers make valuable allies. "They have a credibility in this conversation that allows them to reach more people and to take on some of the arguments of the conservatives in a more persuasive way," says Charley Richardson, one of the co-founders of Military Families Speak Out and the father of a soldier who served in Iraq. Richardson and his wife, Nancy Lessin, have seen MFSO grow from 200 families in 2003 to more than 2,000 families today. "More soldiers and spouses are speaking out today," says Lessin, who believes that even more harbor antiwar sentiment but stay quiet. Noting that the organization has seen a membership shift—it used to be predominantly parents of soldiers; now more wives of soldiers have joined—Lessin is encouraged: "That is significant because that's where the code of silence is greatest, on military bases, and that's where breaking the code is more difficult."

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Huge numbers? No. But a symbolic presence can be powerful—letting others who feel similarly know that it's OK to speak out. And putting military families and soldiers up front can shift public opinion, organizers say.

"Part of the problem is that no one, from the next-door neighbor to the politicians in Congress, wants to be seen as not supporting the troops," says Lessin. "Our role is to change that construct, to say that real support of the troops right now—when they have been sent off to fight and die in a war based on lies—is to fight against a war that never had to happen. We say, 'We need you to support the troops this way.'" Getting vets and military family members involved is thus critical. "This group of people gives us permission to speak out against the war."

Helping this effort along are some recent, highly visible signs of disgruntled troops. There is Specialist Thomas Wilson, the soldier who, during a feel-good town meeting in Kuwait, got so much press when he dared to question Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld as to why soldiers were being forced to "dig through local landfills for pieces of scrap metal" to up-armor their vehicles instead of getting proper protective equipment from the Army. Then there were the twenty-three members of the 343rd Quartermaster Company in Iraq who mutinied, refusing to drive their trucks on what they clearly considered a suicide mission. Further, peace activists have been encouraged by a spate of well-publicized lawsuits from both enlisted soldiers and officers.

'More soldiers and spouses are speaking out. That is significant because that's where the code of silence is greatest.' —Nancy Lessin

The suits draw attention to what John Kerry dubbed a "backdoor draft," in which tens of thousands of veterans who had gotten out of the service, active-duty soldiers who believed they had completed their tours in Iraq, and officers who put in for separation or retirement have been told to think again. (One 56-year-old Californian, who served three tours in Vietnam before getting out of the service decades ago, was among those recently ordered to report for duty.) While the Pentagon has reminded the public that we are at war, lawyers for some reluctant soldiers contend otherwise. In cases filed in the past few months, they argue that the United States is engaged in "nation building" and "putting down the Iraqi insurgency"—two activities not covered under President Bush's declaration of a "state of emergency" on September 14, 2001. Since Congress never formally declared war against Iraq, they claim, Bush does not have the power to ignore the contractual agreements soldiers sign upon enlisting. (And indeed, Bush reassured the nation on May 2, 2003, from the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln, that the war in Iraq was over and had been won by US forces: "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended.")

In addition to fighting in the courts, war opponents have also tried to build bridges with progressives inside the military community. "We affirm that defending your country and supporting your troops does not mean suppressing your conscience," the Civic Soldier Forum announces in a soon-to-be-released ad for military publications. The forum, a national organization of self-described "progressives who are also patriots," comprises military analysts, active-duty troops, civilians and veterans.

At the grassroots level, progressives are also working to involve soldiers. For example, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, home of one of the Army's largest posts (Fort Bragg) as well as an Air Force base (Pope AFB), the Quakers are joining up with Iraq Veterans Against the War, Military Families Speak Out (MFSO), Veterans for Peace, Gold Star Families for Peace and September 11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows to organize a large antiwar demonstration on March 19. They are expecting anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 protesters.

Meanwhile, in Vermont, activists are taking a completely different tack. Here, in a state with no active-duty military bases but a number of National Guard soldiers, fifty towns passed a resolution on March 1 to end the war. "This war is being perpetrated in our names with our tax dollars," says Sherry Prindall, mother of a National Guard soldier deployed to Iraq. Speaking in radio commercials broadcast across the state, she has been urging Vermonters to consider the war a local issue. Though organizers admit their resolutions are unlikely to end the war, they see this as a significant educational effort. "The basic goal of the whole exercise is to initiate a conversation in Vermont," says Ben Scotch, one of those spearheading the campaign. "We want to bring the discussion outside of the peace movement to engage people in the fire departments and schools and the veterans of foreign wars groups—the whole community."

The effort dovetails nicely with the rest of the peace movement's counterrecruiting efforts, which are newly focused on the National Guard. "This is just one part of the larger struggle to deny the government the troops it needs to fight the war," explains MFSO's Richardson. Banding together with the American Friends Service Committee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Veterans for Peace and United for Peace and Justice, MFSO intends to bring the war home by exposing the local impact of the war on soldiers, families, communities and states through a focus on the National Guard. Because as many as 50 percent of some states' National Guard troops are deployed at any given time, residents are left without the state-based emergency response teams they may need. "This is an issue that state legislatures can and must take on," insists Richardson. Not only do antiwar activists hope to expose this vulnerability and propel more states to adopt resolutions like Vermont's; they are ultimately going for a trickle-up effect. If grassroots activists can persuade a city councilor to support their cause, and then a state legislator, eventually members of Congress might feel they have a supportive base for taking a stand. To that end, peace activists are tying the cost of the war to local issues. Libraries and schools are underfunded, the argument goes, because money is going instead to fund military adventures. "We have to say that Bush's budgets are immoral and we are looking for moral ways to use our money," says Medea Benjamin, co-founder of Code Pink, an organization of women for peace.

Karen Houppert is a freelance journalist. Her latest book is Home Fires Burning: Married to the Military—For Better or Worse *(Ballantine).*

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Meanwhile, college students are protesting the presence of recruiters on their campuses, and parents of young people are beginning to speak out against the military's hunt for high schoolers. Cindy Sheehan, a California resident whose 24-year-old son, Casey, was killed two weeks after he arrived in Iraq in April 2004, says she gets furious when recruiters call the house asking to speak to her three younger kids. "They get the list from the schools," she says, referring to a little-known clause of the No Child Left Behind Act that requires public schools to provide recruiters with students' names, addresses and home phone numbers—or lose federal funds. "I tell the recruiters that sacrificing my oldest son for a lie is already way too much and they're not getting any of my other kids!"

Sheehan is a perfect example of the kind of folks peace activists insist are part of a silent majority: She opposed the war but was disinclined to speak out. "I was stunned and dismayed when the United States invaded Iraq," Sheehan says. "I didn't agree with it. I didn't think it was right, but I never protested until after Casey was killed." She pauses and steels herself for what feels like the hundredth brutal mea culpa: "And I am very sorry I didn't." Taking to heart the old union slogan "Don't mourn, organize," Sheehan is clearly deeply immersed in both. Along with dozens of other families who lost soldiers in the war, she formed a new organization, Gold Star Families for Peace, and has made it her penance to share the details of her own experience. "Now I am doing anything I can to shorten this war and save other families the pain we're going through," she says.

Her voice and those of other military families are being welcomed in the peace movement. And more soldiers themselves are slowly creeping out of the woodwork. But getting huge numbers of troops involved may be a long shot. There is tremendous peer pressure in the military community—the Defense Department calls it "bonding" and considers it the cornerstone of military training—and soldiers who are vocal about their opposition to the war face considerable obstacles. Not only may their peers shun them, but the Army may go after them.

The Civic Soldier Forum runs ads in various military publications. One that is forthcoming in *The Stars and Stripes* raises a provocative question: "Who says that those who defend democracy cannot practice it?" Eloquently posed, the question is not merely rhetorical. There are so many rules governing soldiers' political lives that most seem to shy away from all activism for fear of breaking one. (Regulations even specify the size of bumper stickers allowed on their cars.) Officially, members of the armed services can participate in protests as long as they are not in uniform, don't divulge military secrets and don't appear to be speaking for the military. "Unofficially, your supervisors can give you every single horrible detail they can find," says Hoffman, the Iraq veteran who spoke at the St. Louis antiwar event. "In Iraq, they can put you on every dangerous mission they need to staff."

Lou Plummer, an Army veteran whose son Drew was home on leave from the Navy the day the Iraq War started, says his son paid a big price for speaking his mind. Lou brought Drew to a peace vigil that day in Fayetteville. When an AP reporter interviewed Lou and then turned to Drew and asked what he thought, the young man told him he thought the war was about oil. "He didn't speak to any other reporters. He is not an activist. He just answered the question from his heart," Lou recalls. Days after Drew's com-

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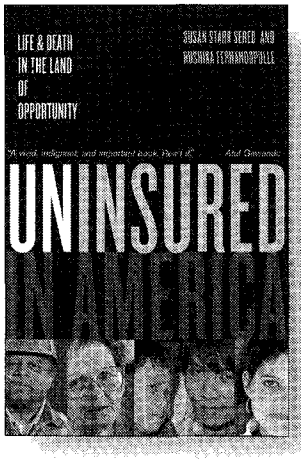

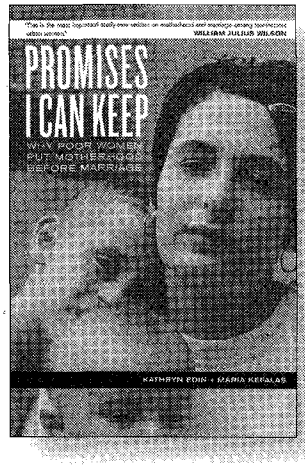

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ments ran in the press, when he reported for duty at the USS Dwight D. Eisenhower, he was charged with violating Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The charge was disloyalty. When Drew was hauled before his superiors, his father explains, he "was asked if he sympathized with the enemy and said 'No.' He was asked if he planned to sabotage the ship and said 'No.' He was asked if he was sorry for what he said to that reporter and he said 'No.' So he was convicted of disloyalty and demoted."

Hoffman insists this isn't uncommon. "Lots of guys who speak out then get railroaded into an Article 15 hearing because they're offered a choice between that and a court-martial," says Hoffman. Under an Article 15 hearing, soldiers forgo legal representation and a trial, instead agreeing to let their commander make the call through a less formal administrative hearing. "And basically, you're guilty until proven innocent," says Hoffman.

While the antiwar movement embraces soldiers who brave such hostility to express their qualms about the war, dissenting military voices do not always share all of the peace movement's goals and priorities. As a result, these alliances have the potential to backfire. For example, Specialist Wilson's comment to Rumsfeld about the lack of armored vehicles was the complaint heard round the world. But if it gets invoked as justification for increased military spending, the cheers may fade. Or if the complaints of military families who lament the current operational tempo that has their spouses deployed more than they're home spur a military buildup, they may find themselves at odds with the larger peace movement. Indeed, progressives may be putting the military out front for the same reasons that the Democrats are now determined to put religion out front—and both "projects" raise the same serious questions: Is this capitulating to the political climate rather than contesting the very premise that says the God-fearing make the best leaders, or the khaki-clad soldiers the truest patriots? And when some of those "true patriots" are the perpetrators of crimes, like those committed at Abu Ghraib, will the peace movement's promilitary stance inhibit strong criticism?

Ultimately, there is a danger that the soldier's perspective, so crucial to the peace movement now, may prove problematic to the larger progressive movement that activists hope this will spawn. After all, for many soldiers this is a one-platform plank, making their immediate asset their long-term flaw. "So many of the other activists at this United for Peace and Justice convention can be written off by Americans as crazy pinko commie lefties," Hoffman told me privately, after he had addressed the larger assembly of peace activists in the St. Louis convention hall. "But we're the vets who've been there and fought, and it seems it's hard for us to be dismissed. We've been to Iraq. We've seen it. We know it's wrong. We have to end it." He shrugs and raises his hands, palms up, as if he holds a tidy package. "It's very simple. There's not a lot of other issues we're talking about." ■

WAL-MART HOPES TO DEFEAT ITS OPPONENTS BY EXPLOITING THEIR RACIAL DIVISIONS.

Race to the Bottom

LIZA FEATHERSTONE

"Wal-Mart is working for everyone," read the newspaper ad, which ran in January in more than 100 newspapers nationwide, including the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. "Some of our critics are working only for themselves." The same day, the company launched walmartfacts.com, a website to counter criticism of the kind you may have read in this magazine. Along with some misleading information intended to make Wal-Mart's wages and benefits sound much better than they are, the new campaign materials feature many smiling African-American faces; the website explains, accurately, that Wal-Mart is a "leading employer" of Hispanics and African-Americans.

KAREN CALDICOTT

As Jesse Jackson and other black leaders have pointed out in response to this boast, the slave plantation was once a "leading employer" of African-Americans as well. But this ad campaign was only the latest salvo in Wal-Mart's fervent battle for the goodwill of black America, inspired by the difficulties the company is having as it tries to move into urban areas.

Wal-Mart spent more than $1 million on a PR campaign backing a voter referendum to build a Supercenter in Inglewood, California, where the majority of voters are people of color, and was decisively defeated last year. The company faces continued resistance in Chicago as well, where it has been trying to open stores in black neighborhoods. A Wal-Mart on that city's West Side is scheduled to open by next February—to the frustration of those who opposed it—while plans for a South Side store have been scuttled. Controversy continues to rage about a Wal-Mart project in New Orleans, and in late February plans for a New York City Wal-Mart were scrapped in the wake of protests by labor, small business and neighborhood groups. Much of the opposition to the retailer has been led by activists of color. And, of course, since many people of color are poor, Wal-Mart depends on them as shoppers and as workers. It's no surprise, then, that the company would be eager to appeal to racial minorities.

If you own a TV, you've probably seen what many of Wal-Mart's critics call its "happy black people" ad, which has been

Nation *contributing editor Liza Featherstone is the author of* Selling Women Short: The Landmark Battle for Workers' Rights at Wal-Mart *(Basic)*.

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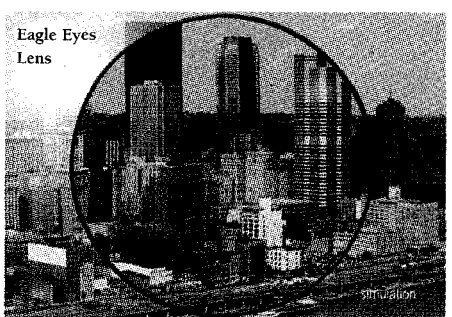

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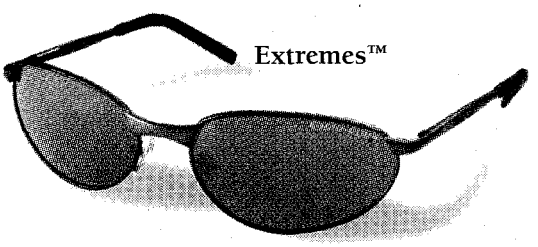

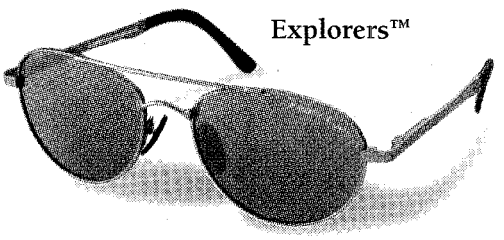

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airing since 2003, when the Inglewood fight heated up. Filmed at a Wal-Mart store in Crenshaw, a Los Angeles neighborhood, the ad features smiling African-Americans giving glowing testimony to what Wal-Mart has done for the "community." ("Community" in Wal-Mart World often seems to mean "black"—on the website, for instance, the word is illustrated not by a group of people, as it's commonly understood to mean, but by one exuberant, young woman of color, a beneficiary of a Wal-Mart scholarship.) In another TV spot, a black woman who works for Wal-Mart raves about the "opportunities" she's found working with the company. As the writer Earl Ofari Hutchinson has observed, the fact that black women are absent from most advertising imagery potentially makes Wal-Mart's campaign that much more powerful. The company also takes out ads in black newspapers, especially in cities where it faces political opposition, and radio spots during Sunday-morning gospel hour. And Wal-Mart celebrates Black History Month, distributing free booklets to consumers with inspirational sayings from accomplished African-Americans.

Wal-Mart depends on racial minorities as shoppers and workers. It's no surprise, then, that the company is eager to appeal to them.

Much like that of the Bush Administration, Wal-Mart's image-making strategy includes not only advertising but paying for positive media coverage from black journalists. This year the company will begin awarding scholarships to minority journalism students at Howard, Columbia and elsewhere—a worthy use of Wal-Mart's funds, given that people of color are underrepresented in this profession, but a rather transparent move to buy off potential critics. (In an unusual twist, the recipients will attend Wal-Mart's annual shareholders' meeting, a massive pep rally whose primary purpose is to immerse attendees in the company culture.) The company knows what favors its money can buy: Wal-Mart underwrites Tavis Smiley's popular television talk show in Los Angeles, and Smiley returned the favor last year when, during the heated battle in Inglewood, he invited Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott on the air for a fawning interview, taking no calls.

Wal-Mart even gives money to civil rights organizations fighting racism—groups like La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, the Urban League, the United Negro College Fund and the NAACP. As with the journalism scholarships, this isn't all bad: far better that Wal-Mart's money be used to fight for racial equality than to elect Republicans or simply further enrich its own CEO, who at nearly $23 million a year makes well over 1,000 times as much as the average Wal-Mart worker. Unfortunately, however, taking money from Wal-Mart may sometimes compromise organizations politically. In Chicago, the NAACP chapter supported Wal-Mart in the political battle over the South Side store; likewise, in a recent battle over Wal-Mart in suburban Atlanta, Wal-Mart found the NAACP on its side.

Indeed, the company has become a skillful grassroots player. In both Inglewood and Chicago, Wal-Mart gave money to black churches, community groups and politicians. Wal-Mart courted Emma Mitts, an African-American alderwoman representing Chicago's West Side, and found her easily seduced. Mitts became a strident advocate for the retailer. Like many other organizations and individuals, she wasn't much of an expense; according to campaign disclosure documents filed with the State of Illinois, Wal-Mart rewarded her efforts last November with $5,000. (Mitts did not return calls for this article.)

Many black community activists were appalled that black leaders were so easily bought off. "I was ashamed to be black!" says Elce Redmond of the South Austin Coalition, a Chicago neighborhood organization, describing how the clergy and elites rolled over. "A lot of people have no principles. They will wear the dashiki, but always take the green money from a multinational corporation." Wal-Mart was deliberate, Redmond observes: "In almost twenty years of organizing, I have never seen anything so divisive. If you're going to take their money, take it, but don't pretend Wal-Mart is good for the community." He's not posturing: Redmond's South Austin Coalition received a check from Wal-Mart for a youth center, cashed it and continued to work politically to oppose the retailer.

But the organizing Wal-Mart representatives did, and the arguments they made, may have been just as important as any cash they doled out. They talked to ministers and community groups about the jobs the company was going to bring, and the low prices. "It was just smart," says Renaye Manley, the national field representative in the AFL-CIO's Midwest office, which is based in Chicago. "And it made our job that much harder." Manley, who is black and from Chicago's South Side, thinks Wal-Mart's outreach was more important than its money and that most community leaders were not bought off but genuinely convinced: "People just wanted to see jobs. These folks have a vision for their communities." James Thindwa, a Zimbabwean who heads Chicago's Jobs With Justice, says, "A lot of good, decent people bought the argument that any job is better than none." Glen Ford and Peter Gamble, writing for *The Black Commentator*, had a harsher take on this "slavish" acceptance of anything corporate America has on offer, chastising Chicago's black politicians for failing "to address Black community development as an issue of democracy."

Most destructively, Thindwa says—and other Chicago activists agree—"Wal-Mart played the race card." The company told the city's black leaders that the unions fighting the retailer were racist, effectively exploiting existing racial tensions in the city. As elsewhere, the building trades unions in Chicago have historically discriminated against blacks. But it is service unions like the Service Employees International that are speaking out the most against Wal-Mart, and in cities, their membership is mostly people of color. "[Wal-Mart] knew what buttons to push," Redmond acknowledges, but he's outraged that so many black leaders bought the simplistic line that all unions are racist. "I've never seen so much ignorance. They had no sense at all of the history of African-Americans in unions. A. Philip Randolph, ever heard of him? So they're going to side with the corporate enslaver, like, 'Wal-Mart will save us Negroes!'"

Thindwa says, "Wal-Mart was able to paint this as white unions protecting their turf, instead of as a broad-based community issue." Worse, activists now agree, the anti–Wal-Mart coalition failed to respond effectively to the company's race-baiting. Dorian Warren, an African-American community activist and member

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of the Chicago Workers' Rights Board, says, "The media framed it as 'white labor versus the black community.' We were not able to change the frame."

There are clearly profound racial tensions in the labor movement, and as Wal-Mart continues to move into cities it is likely to continue to exploit these tensions. Warren, a public policy scholar at the University of Chicago, says, "I've been at a loss to figure out why the labor movement can't have an honest conversation about race." Contributing to the problem, black-led labor activism has declined in recent decades, and many mainstream unions aren't training black leaders (which is closely related to their failure to develop leaders from the rank and file of any race). There's a sense—in these battles over Wal-Mart, as in many other situations—that labor uses communities of color when it's convenient but drops them when a particular campaign is over. That's easily exploited since, as Warren puts it, "there's just enough truth to it."

Of course, there's still plenty of skepticism among African-Americans about Wal-Mart.

Indeed, some black clergy were leaders in the fight against Wal-Mart in Chicago. Community opposition probably did contribute to the retailer's defeat on the South Side and may help the coalition's attempts to pass an ordinance requiring Wal-Mart to pay a living wage to workers on the West Side. In Inglewood, the fight against Wal-Mart was led by black and Latino church and community activists, and very few leaders were bought off. Blacks there did not buy the line that Wal-Mart was antiracist and the unions—therefore, all of Wal-Mart's opponents—were racist. That's partly because in Inglewood relations between the United Food and Commercial Workers and the community groups were much better. Whereas in Chicago the union often insisted on having its white and male leadership speak at public events, in Inglewood black women who lived in the town and worked in supermarkets were prominent faces in Wal-Mart's public opposition; they knocked on doors and talked to their fellow citizens about why their unionized grocery job was so important to them and their families, and why Wal-Mart was such a threat.

Madeline Janis-Aparicio of the Coalition for a Better Inglewood says about her campaign's success: "We were also lucky—Wal-Mart did something really stupid." In trying to pass an ordinance exempting itself from the town's laws, the company violated the largely black community's most basic requirement: respect. "We used that," says Janis-Aparicio, who credits that theme with winning over the church leadership and many Inglewood voters. After one large, mainstream black church joined the anti–Wal-Mart fight, the rest followed, not just lending passive endorsement but enthusiastically rallying their forces. Another helpful issue was crime—Wal-Mart is the nation's leading purveyor of guns. To rural white communities, that's often a political asset, but to urban black voters it's a harsh liability. In the last few days of the Inglewood campaign, the anti–Wal-Mart coalition hung a flier in the shape of an M-16 rifle on everybody's door. "Some on our side felt it was a scare tactic," Janis-Aparicio admits, but, she adds with justified pride, "it had a powerful impact."

Even in Chicago, Wal-Mart's own actions may end up helping its opponents. Elce Redmond says, "A lot of people who supported Wal-Mart at first are now saying, 'Elce, you were right.' Wal-Mart made a lot of promises, and hasn't delivered." Politicians and community leaders are now finding that since Wal-Mart secured permission to open the West Side store, its officials aren't returning their calls too readily. Rather than agreeing to pay workers decently, the company sent 300 holiday turkeys for the community's needy. That struck many people as a shallow response to concerns about the store's economic impact. "People are beginning to ask questions," says Redmond. "Why can't Wal-Mart pay a living wage? Why can't its workers have a union if they want one? Why not?" ■

Letter From Spain

by Geoff Pingree and Lisa Abend

HOMAGE TO CATALONIA

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SPECIAL DELIVERY

The barricades went up in Salamanca on December 30. In this city where Franco set up his first military headquarters, Spain's Civil War is again being revived, though instead of Toledo or Teruel, the struggle now is over several hundred cartons of documents. Like thousands of other archival containers in Salamanca's renovated *palacio*, the boxes are stuffed with papers detailing the activities of leftist political parties and individual Republican supporters—information collected (some would say "stolen") by Franco's troops and deposited in what today is the country's official Civil War archive. But these boxes are a bit different from the rest, for their contents were taken from the famously independent province of Catalonia, and the Catalans want them back.

Salamanca's mayor, aggressively supported by the opposition Popular Party (PP), refuses to consider the request—despite the recommendation last year from Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's appointed commission of academic, legal and archival experts that the documents be returned—and he vows that the papers will never leave his city. Although the mayor asserts that the metal fences were erected in order to perform renovations on the building, the barricades went up around the archive the day after the commission announced its findings.

For nearly seventy years, Spain has suffered a peculiar version of the eternal return, as its Civil War, finished on the battlefield in April 1939, periodically erupts to be fought again on new

Geoff Pingree and Lisa Abend are professors at Oberlin College and freelance writers who spend part of each year in Madrid.

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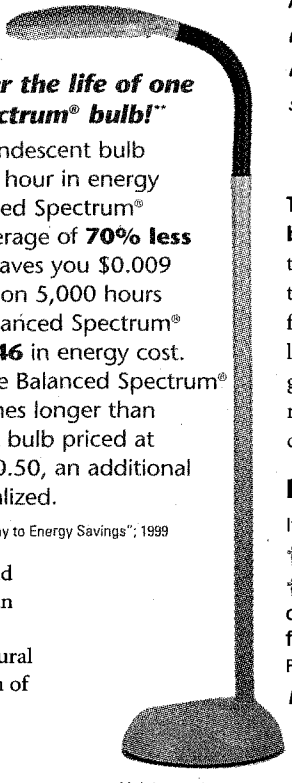

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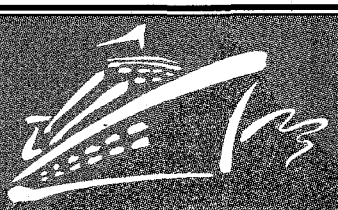

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fronts—without bloodshed, perhaps, but still with great anguish. After Franco's regime spent decades enforcing a national amnesia about what happened between 1936 and 1939 and in the years of dictatorship that followed, a public wish to confront Spain's recent history is now awakening with a fury. Indeed, the so-called Pact of Silence, which effectively curbed open discussion of the past in order to secure the country's move toward democracy, has over the past few years given way to a chorus of demands to confront that past. The archive debate—which provokes anxieties both about how Franco repressed all Catalan forms of expression and about the broader legacy of his dictatorship—has become one more arena in which to reignite the war.

Volunteer organizations like the Memory Forum (*Foro de Memoria*) spend weekends searching for and unearthing mass graves of those executed during the war. The Association of Relatives and Friends of the Second Republic Victims of Reprisals by the Franco Regime is filing challenges in court intended not only to clear the names of those persecuted and gain reparations for their descendants but also to render illegitimate the regime's entire legal system. Bookstores are stocked with works exploring the barbarities of the war and dictatorship, and it seems barely a month passes without the release of a documentary film on the subject.

Although the movement to recover public memory has been gathering speed for several years, the efforts have increased sharply since Zapatero took office last April. At its national congress in the summer of 2004, the Socialist Party agreed to urge all towns led by socialist governments to finally change those street names, like the Avenidas del Generalísimo and Plazas de José Antonio Primo de Rivera, that still celebrate the Franco regime. Zapatero also appointed a commission to recommend ways to acknowledge and compensate the dictatorship's victims.

Like those initiatives, the campaign to return the Catalan documents has a long history. The Salamanca archive itself dates to the Civil War, when General Franco created the Document Recovery Service to confiscate papers pertaining to individuals or groups "hostile to the National Movement." Accompanying Nationalist troops at the front line as they advanced throughout Spain, the service's members seized papers from political parties, trade unions, Masonic lodges—even from theosophical societies—and shipped them to Salamanca to be classified. From Barcelona alone, Franco's forces transported materials that filled twelve train cars.

Once sorted and organized, the documents—800 tons' worth—were enlisted to help prosecute suspected enemies of the regime. "This archive of stolen paper," says Paul Preston, a leading historian of the Spanish Civil War, "became an infrastructural tool of the repression." Preston points to the Freemasons—roughly 6,000 strong in Spain in 1936—as an example. "By the time Franco's investigators had trolled through the materials," he says, "they had produced a file-card index which proved that there were 80,000 Masons—all of whom of course were liable at best to be imprisoned and, at worst, shot." That index and the rest of the collection officially became the National Civil War Archive in 1979. Catalonia's attempts to recover its papers date to 1976, the year after Franco's death, and have surged sporadically ever since.

For the Dignity Commission, a Catalan organization that since 2001 has spearheaded the recovery campaign, the Salamanca

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archive's origins demand redress. "Both UNESCO and archival science as a whole maintain that when papers are displaced because of conflict or war, they shall be returned to their place of origin," says Toni Strubell, one of the organization's founders.

A policy that could be applied with relative ease to the Dutch and Polish papers captured by Nazis during World War II is more difficult to use in the case of Spain. Many here believe that returning the Catalan documents will initiate the eventual destruction of an important cultural institution. The Royal Academy of History, for example, issued a statement warning that if the Salamanca archive is not protected, there will be "unforeseeable consequences for the stability...of the Documentary Patrimony that the Archive holds in its custody." To the charge that the Catalan papers were stolen by Franco's forces in the first place, Julián Lanzarote, Salamanca's mayor, replies, "There's no collection in the world that was gathered peacefully. There are Egyptian artifacts in the British Museum. Are we going to return to Mexico all the papers in the Archive of the Indies?"

A dispute over scholarly stewardship does not fully account for the hostility surrounding the Catalan campaign. Both sides agree that the documents can easily be microfilmed or reproduced in digital form, and the Catalan government has even offered to pay to make copies that would remain in Salamanca. But the controversy, which is rooted in the question of who shall retain the originals, underscores the documents' tremendous symbolic value. The municipal government of Salamanca has collected more than 85,000 signatures protesting the campaign to return the documents, and thousands of Salamancans have gathered in public demonstrations to demand that the papers remain in their city. More striking still is the opposition PP's indignation. The PP has called the transfer a national outrage, and Aleix Vidal-Quadras, a leading member of the PP in Catalonia, wrote in a recent editorial that the Catalans were motivated by "the bitter wind of destructive revenge."

But revenge for what? Although Catalonia's struggle for greater independence from the central state has never become violent, many Catalans—who speak a language distinct from Spanish—share the Basque interest in achieving increased autonomy for their region. To many opponents of the campaign to return the documents, then, the archive petition is part of a struggle for regional autonomy. "Catalonia seems to forget that we are the same country," says Lanzarote. "Spain is a state. Catalonia is one autonomous region within that state. We are fighting not only for Salamanca but for the defense of the state's identity." María Jesus Ruíz, vice president of the regional government of Castille-Leon and, like Lanzarote, a PP member, cautions that transfer of the documents would be "the first stone in the disintegration of the State."

Advocates of returning the documents, like Strubell, note that with the exception of the PP every party in Catalonia—even those that do not champion greater regional autonomy—supports the Dignity Commission and its recommendations. To refuse to return the documents, in Strubell's mind, is to refuse to acknowledge Franco's crimes. "Certain Spaniards and the PP feel that Franco is not an element to be censured, an element to be associated with a bloody dictatorship," he says. "They feel he was a neutral part of their past, even something to be vaguely proud about."

How Spaniards understand this particular part of their past

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seems to be what is at the heart of the document controversy, a dispute exacerbated by the broader recent movement to remember the war and the dictatorship. "It's a complicated social phenomenon," says Preston. "The families of the beneficiaries of Franco's victory don't think of themselves as particularly right-wing. But they were brought up believing that their parents and grandparents did the right thing, smashing communism and all that. And now they're being told that these people were little better than Hitler. It makes them very uncomfortable." The case of the Catalan documents, in Preston's view, offers Spaniards a safe opportunity to oppose revision of the Francoist past. "If someone says, 'We've discovered a well and thirty people were thrown down it in 1939,' there's not much you can do about that. But if the Catalans say, 'We want our papers back,' they can all get behind a campaign to save the wonderful Salamanca archive."

The public debate over the fate of the Catalan documents at times has simulated the acid tone and bitter divisions of the Civil War itself. The last time the polemic erupted with such fury, in 1995, conservative intellectual Gonzalo Torrente Ballester appeared on the balcony of Salamanca's City Hall to address a crowd of demonstrators protesting Catalan efforts to recover the documents. Using rhetoric the Generalísimo himself might have appreciated, Torrente Ballester declared, *"Son vuestros por derecho de conquista!"* ("They are yours by right of conquest!")

Many Spaniards today see the PP's position on the controversy, and its general unwillingness to pay homage to the victims of Franquismo, as evidence of its tolerance of—if not sympathy for—the former regime. When in November 2004 members of the United Left party presented a petition to change the names of 167 streets in Madrid that still carry names from the Franco era, the PP-controlled municipal government refused. "It's stupid to erase forty years of history," Manuel Cobos, the lieutenant mayor, told the press. And recently at Georgetown University, when former prime minister José María Aznar of the PP was asked to condemn Franco's crimes, he too refused. To those like Strubell, such refusals raise unsettling questions about the nature of Spain's democracy. "We must remember that Spanish democracy was enabled not only because those favorable to the dictatorship were not held responsible for their crimes, but indeed because they were incorporated into the new power structure that emerged after 1975," Strubell says. Minister of Culture Carmen Calvó recently echoed these accusations, if in a slightly more diplomatic manner, when she characterized the PP's attempts to block the documents' return as "smokescreens for demagogic politics."

Yet surely Spanish democracy, now twenty-six years old, is strong enough to weather such demagogy. "It's long enough since there was an attempted coup," says Preston. "And the Socialist Party feels empowered to do things. What it's doing is pretty mild, but given the scale of underlying hatred it seems much more dramatic than it is." Indeed, the inflamed rhetoric that surrounds the debate over the Salamanca archives, along with the many other issues related to the Civil War that have come to occupy Spain's collective consciousness, obscure the significance of the debates themselves: that they are taking place at all. In a country so long ruled by fear, that change itself is remarkable.

Spain's Senate took up the debate over the Catalan documents on February 10, and when Calvó reminded her colleagues that "we need to resolve a painful issue that has lasted twenty-five years," Senator Juan Van-Halen, a political opponent, recalled the disastrous attempts in the early 1930s by the Second Republic—the government against which Franco's military rose up—to divest the Catholic Church of its ample holdings. He asked, in a pointed reference to one of the Civil War's causes, "Have you forgotten what happened with the disamortization?" By the end of February, members of the PP were demanding to see records of the government commission's discussions, and the Ministry of Culture was promising to expand the archive's holdings in other areas. In this unfinished war, the battles continue. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
challenge to corporate America, they could build the kind of party to rock the house.

KEVIN DANAHER AND JASON MARK
Global Exchange

LIVE SIMPLY SO WE CAN SIMPLY LIVE

Scotland, Pa.

■ Mark Hertsgaard, in "A Challenge to Enviros" [Jan. 3] wrote about Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus's challenge to environmentalists. It's true. We do "need to rethink how [we] do [our] work." We haven't stopped George W. Bush's environmental rollback, and most people don't even know it's happened. There are many reasons for this. Kerry refused to run as an environmental candidate, and Gore downplayed the environment in 2000. The authors are right. Single-issue politics and a focus on technical fixes are also to blame.

For the past decade the environmental movement has failed to embrace what the rest of the world calls sustainable development. Most Americans have no idea that the Bush Administration and other UN member states agreed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 to create a National Strategy for Sustainability and begin to implement it by 2005.

Well, 2005 is here and Bush has ignored this. The environmental community has its biggest opportunity in years. Sustainability is the bedrock on which all life depends. And in the United States we are living anything but sustainably. We've despoiled our streams, polluted our farmlands, cut our old-growth forests; we use mostly nonrenewable energy and are rapidly depleting our natural resources. It's time to take sustainability seriously and begin to implement it. Fortunately, many states and municipalities have already established sustainability plans and programs; and the Citizens Network for Sustainable Development is at work on a National Leadership Campaign for Sustainability.

Once Americans realize how far we are from living sustainably and how much better our lives could be if we did, we'll hold our government accountable for decisions that weaken our environment. Sustainable development is the antidote to single-issue politics and technical fixes. It depends on a holistic understanding and a systems-based approach to solving local and national problems.

ROB WHEELER
US Coordinator, Charter of Human Responsibilities (www.uscharter.org)
Leadership Campaign for Sustainability (www.citnet.org/leadership)

WARTS & ALL

Waltham, Mass.

■ Re the exchange between Sarah Clark of Wal-Mart and Liza Featherstone ["Letters," Feb. 28]: A bit of letter swapping changes "Wal-Mart" into "Mal(l)-Wart."

NICHOLAS BODLEY

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(Continued From Page 6)

Darfur—including the tribes from which the Janjaweed militias are drawn—are historically as much the victims of Khartoum's neglect and marginalization as the Darfurian "Africans."

In supporting the Janjaweed, the government was aiming at two birds with one stone. Not only did the Janjaweed constitute a cheap and effective way of countering the rebellion, but in arming them the government turned groups against one another, hence diverting attention from its victimization of all Darfurians. "It is Darfur's tragedy," de Waal writes, "that the leaders of these groups have not made common cause in the face of Khartoum's indifference."

The peace agreement recently signed by the government and the southern Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army goes some way toward addressing issues of inequitable development and wealth-sharing, but it does so only for the southern region of the country. The international community should press the government to pursue similar policies with regard to all Sudan's marginalized peoples. Unless this happens, there will be no end to bloodshed in Sudan.

FATIN ABBAS

Fatin Abbas is a Nation *intern. She worked with the humanitarian organization GOAL Ireland in Khartoum, Sudan, before coming to* The Nation.

In the Park With Christo

From everywhere people flocked to New York City to experience the extraordinary installation in Central Park by the environmental artists Christo and his wife, Jeanne-Claude. For sixteen days, 7,500 sixteen-foot-high gates draped with billowing saffron banners brightened twenty-three miles of walkways that wind their way through this masterfully designed 843-acre park in the center of Manhattan.

People of every nationality, income, profession and age came together simply to experience this cultural phenomenon occurring in one of the country's pre-eminent public parks. Strangers talked to strangers. People took one another's pictures. Kids played. Couples strolled. Everyone seemed to smile. This is what democratic public space is all about. The spotlight appropriately was on the artists. The Gates were Christo's gift to New York, the $21 million cost paid entirely by him. But his greatest gift has been to provoke everyone to re-examine, re-appreciate and rediscover the inspired design of Central Park by Frederick Law Olmsted, a founder of *The Nation*, and Calvert Vaux. No better illustration can be found of how a well-designed and well-used public space enhances civil society.

The public's enthusiastic embrace of this populist spectacle should be a wake-up call across the country. For too long, communities have been losing public spaces that offer the opportunity for people to serendipitously mix, mingle and meet. Today, the privately owned mall is often a community's only remaining gathering space. Unlike in a true public place, public assembly or leaflet distribution can be legally denied in private malls. And when genuine public places are absent, the human hunger for connection is fulfilled by "hanging out" at the Wal-Mart or roaming the corridors of any big box. Is this why studies show Americans spend so much leisure time shopping at malls?

Jane Jacobs, the nation's pre-eminent urbanist, taught us that a vital city needs diversity of choices, interesting streets and multiple options. Olmsted provided the same variety of choices and serendipitous conditions on the park land that Jacobs celebrated on the city streets. Central Park, consequently, is the ultimate urban park.

Olmsted's brilliant reshaping of the landscape into this well-used park is well-known. But it was his earlier advocacy of the park's creation that was an equally inspired contribution to the evolution of New York as a vibrant city. The 1811 adoption of the grid—the rectilinear system of streets crossing at right angles that we know so well today—reflected a view of the city as nothing more than a piece of real estate to be continuously developed, a view many would prefer today. No green spaces were provided for. Olmsted superimposed this pastoral landscape on the grid. He recognized that a socially, politically and economically successful city had to offer opportunities for leisure and active recreation, for people to connect, congregate and communicate and for people to gather, explore and discover something new. This democratic vision of a city is constantly undermined from Washington to City Hall, with State Houses in between, as public investments disappear and privatized space spreads like kudzu across the land.

The success of The Gates illustrates anew what a dynamic public space can do for the social and economic life of a city. The Gates was an urban environmental spectacle that even New York had never seen. This was not about a stadium, a convention center, a new corporate tower or any of today's mega-development schemes that do nothing to enhance or energize a city and only divert attention and funds from essential regenerative needs, like public schools, transit and housing. The Gates was about art, culture, the life of the city, the life found only in a vibrant center, not on the sprawling periphery. Christo invited his city, his neighbors, to rediscover Olmsted's vision. And he opened the eyes of the nation to something missing in American public life.

The lessons of Olmsted should not be lost on those struggling today to strengthen the nation's centers economically and socially. Dynamic public spaces work to keep or bring people in. They support the local economy and enhance the public realm. We don't yet know the size of the economic windfall the city will take in—estimates run as high as $254 million—through The Gates, but it will certainly be in the millions. Visitors come to a place because the locals have given it character. Without authentic character, there is no vitality, only predictability and a dehumanizing banality. Appeal for either the local citizen or visitor does not exist.

Through Christo's Gates, the elegant gestures of Olmsted's pathways were temporarily magnified. The Gates' brief existence provoked a national re-examination of a fundamental but recently devalued component of urban life—the authentic public realm.

ROBERTA BRANDES GRATZ AND STEPHEN A. GOLDSMITH

Roberta Brandes Gratz, author of Cities Back From the Edge: New Life for Downtown, *and Stephen A. Goldsmith, an artist and director of the Frederick P. Rose Architectural Fellowship, are founders of the new Center for the Living City.*

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In Fact . . .

DEATH AT THE CHECKPOINT

■ Jeremy Scahill writes: On March 4, US soldiers fired on the car taking newly released Italian journalist Giuliana Sgrena to the Baghdad airport, wounding her and killing Nicola Calipari, the international operations chief of Italy's military intelligence service, who was escorting her. He had arrived in Baghdad that day after making contact with the kidnappers. He checked in with US forces at the airport. After picking up Sgrena, they drove back to the airport, keeping the lights on in the car to help identify themselves at US checkpoints. But as they neared the airport, their car was riddled with bullets. US forces claim they fired only after repeated attempts to warn the vehicle. The Italian government and Sgrena say that is false. "We were on our way to the airport, and we thought we were finally safe, because the area where we were was under the control of the United States," Sgrena told Italian television. "But then suddenly we found ourselves under an immense amount of bullets, something terrible, without any warning." The Italian foreign minister said, "The government has a duty to point out that the reconstruction of the tragic event that I have set out…does not coincide, totally, with what has been said so far by the US authorities." That this could have happened in such a high-profile case when every precaution should have been in place indicates the degree to which Iraqis are subject to violence by US forces in everyday life. Their deaths and injuries go uncounted at numerous checkpoints where they did or did not slow down, when commanded in a language not their own, by soldiers of the occupying army. The occupation has been rife with these questionable checkpoint shootings, explained away by the military with the mantra "failed to slow down" or "failed to stop." The Pentagon has not admitted US culpability in any such deaths. Congress should conduct a full investigation into the military's treatment of journalists and other noncombatants in Iraq with a particular focus on the killing of Iraqi civilians and unembedded journalists. Every one of the checkpoint killings in Iraq should be heavily scrutinized. The climate of impunity must be confronted, not just by Congress but by the US media as well.

BUSH'S GIFT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

■ Ian Williams, our UN correspondent, writes: Bush's nomination of John Bolton to be ambassador to the UN is a resounding declaration of American contempt for the organization. It sends a message to the rest of the world that the United States will pursue its own obsessively theological agenda in the teeth of almost universal opposition. Bolton is unlikely to pay much attention to his nominal boss, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, so even if she is sincere in her recent promises of cooperation with US allies he will sabotage her efforts at the UN. The man who ordered a CIA probe of Hans Blix's failure to find WMDs in Iraq and contrived the dismissal of the head of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons has recently been trying to get IAEA chief Mohamed ElBaradei fired for not finding nuclear weapons in Iran. If he is confirmed, Bolton's task is likely to be to bully the UN into supporting an Iraqi-style fiasco in Iran or Syria. More immediately, the possible casualties of his appointment will include thousands of dead Darfurians. That's because a resolution that would refer the mayhem in Sudan to the International Criminal Court has been stalled for months by the diehard resistance of the Bolton faction in the State Department. Although the ICC is the one sanction that the Janjaweed militias and the Sudanese government actually fear, Bolton has shown in his war against that body that he does not care about the views of allies. Indeed, his fervent opposition to international restrictions on the small-arms trade, landmines, biological weapons, child soldiers and nuclear testing suggests that he is quite prepared to accept significant casualties for his views—as long as they are other people's casualties. It should not be difficult for sane senators on the Foreign Relations Committee to question the fitness of an appointee who epitomizes American diplomacy as an oxymoron, who said that "there is no such thing as the United Nations" and that "if the UN Secretariat building in New York lost ten stories, it wouldn't make a bit of difference" (for a longer version of this item, go to www.thenation.com).

MINORITY/MAJORITY

■ **Permanent Minority**: New Mexico Democratic Governor Bill Richardson called George W. Bush "gracious" for his willingness to negotiate over the massive cuts he has proposed in Medicaid, the nation's premier healthcare program for the poor. **Toward the Majority**: Montana's new Democratic Governor Brian Schweitzer likened Bush's efforts to sell governors on his Medicaid and Social Security plans to a livestock auctioneer with poor quality studs who fails to tempt buyers. He saw a lot of nose-crinkles among the govs, as if they detected a foul odor: "I didn't see a lot of buyers in the room," he said. —David Sirota

BEHIND 'COMIX NATION'

■ This week's issue marks the third appearance of "Comix Nation," a new feature that showcases cartoons and other graphic forms of commentary. Steve Brodner, who conceived the feature, will serve as "Comix Nation" editor. A prolific artist himself, Brodner has created many *Nation* covers. He recruited the artists who contributed to the GOP convention issue this past summer. This week's "Comix Nation" is the work of longtime contributor Robert Grossman, a New York native and Yale graduate who has done cover illustrations for more than 500 national magazines and whose sculpture and paintings have been widely exhibited.

ON THE WEB

■ Check out "Sweet Victories," a new weekly feature in "Editor's Cut" in which Katrina vanden Heuvel will chronicle a progressive triumph—from legislative and electoral victories to successful organizing efforts, protests and boycotts, to the launching of a promising new organization or initiative. We hope these stories will serve not only as a source of information but as inspiration. The victories may sometimes be small, but they'll always be sweet. And we're hoping *Nation* readers will contribute any stories they think we should be covering (www.thenation.com).

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Jews Without Borders

DANIEL LAZARE

THE ORIENTALIST: Solving the Mystery of a Strange and Dangerous Life.
By Tom Reiss.
Random House. 433 pp. $25.95.

ALI AND NINO.
By Kurban Said.
Anchor. 282 pp. Paper $13.

ORIENTALISM AND THE JEWS.
Edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar.
Brandeis. 285 pp. $26.

Although revered in certain circles as something close to holy writ, Edward W. Said's famous 1978 study *Orientalism* is rife with contradictions that over the years have become more and more difficult to ignore. It hops disconcertingly between Orientalism as an academic pursuit, as a mental attitude and as a system of colonial oppression. At times it suggests that Orientalism began in the eighteenth century with the rise of modern European imperialism; elsewhere it implies that Orientalism settled like a miasma on the Western mind as far back as the ancient Greeks. We are left with the impression that Europe has been unalterably bigoted whenever it has gazed eastward, although why that is not equally the case whenever it has looked to the south, the west or, for that matter, the north is never clarified.

In Said's hands, Orientalism becomes a metaphysical force, over and above history, politics and other such mundane factors—"always and everywhere the same," as Valerie Kennedy puts it in her valuable study *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction* (2000). *Orientalism* is also frequently tendentious (not least when accusing others of the same tendency) and solipsistic. If Western culture is "hegemonic both in and outside Europe," Said explains at one point, it is because a "major component in European culture is...the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures." Europe is superior because it thinks it's superior, in other words, which begs the question of why other cultures that also think of themselves as superior, most notably Islam, have fallen further and further behind.

Still, a badly made argument can be just as provocative as a well-made one, which may be why Said's *Orientalism* has engendered a raft of spinoff investigations in such fields as postcolonial and subaltern studies, anthropology and history. Now another front seems to be opening up with regard to Jewish Orientalism, an area especially ripe for investigation since Jews have never been fully comfortable in either the Oriental or Occidental camp. Indeed, as the perennial odd man out, their role, for better or worse, has been to disrupt the binary worldview of everyone from the Crusaders and jihadis to the imperialists and their Third World opponents, and now Said and his legion of followers.

Jewish Orientalism has produced some odd characters, but none quite so strange as Lev Nussimbaum, also known as 'Kurban Said.'

Just how disruptive can be seen from Tom Reiss's lively new book, *The Orientalist*, a study of the interwar journalist Lev Nussimbaum, best remembered—to the degree he is remembered at all—as the author of a picturesque 1937 novel called *Ali and Nino*. In Nussimbaum, Reiss has chosen as his subject one of the most bizarre figures in twentieth-century letters, which is saying a great deal. Born in 1905 to a millionaire father and a left-wing mother who committed suicide for unknown reasons when he was still a child, Nussimbaum grew up in the booming oil city of Baku at a time when it was poised precariously among Russians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, not to

Daniel Lazare, who writes regularly for The Nation*'s Books & the Arts section, is currently at work on a book about Judaism, Christianity and Islam for Pantheon.*

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mention czarists, nationalists and revolutionary socialists of various stripes.

"Surrounded by teachers, servants, playthings," he would later write, but with no children his own age, he lived a cosseted existence until the Russian Civil War put an end to his idyll in 1918. Fleeing across the desert by camel, he and his father got as far as Persia, then headed back when Baku appeared to be safely in the hands of the Whites. When control passed to the Reds, they fled again, this time west toward the Black Sea port of Batum, where they boarded a ship bound for Constantinople, now Istanbul. There the young Russian-Jewish refugee declared himself a fervent czarist despite the fact that the recently deposed Nicholas II had headed what would be the world's most anti-Semitic government until the rise of Nazi Germany some sixteen years later. Sailing on to Italy, Nussimbaum arrived in time to see Mussolini's Black Shirts taking to the streets and was deeply moved.

"A strange feeling came over me," he recounted. "I felt...welded into unity with these people, about whom I knew nothing but that they were called fascists and were against the Bolshevists.... It was the first time I had the feeling that I wasn't alone." Attending a Russian-language Gymnasium in Berlin in 1922, Nussimbaum adopted another creed. Fascinated with the Muslim culture he had witnessed firsthand in Baku as a boy, he changed his name to Essad Bey and converted to Islam in the presence of the imam of the Turkish embassy. Born an Ashkenazi Jew, he now billed himself as a Muslim aristocrat of mixed Turkish and Persian descent, a relative, no less, of the Emir of Bukhara. A prolific writer with a vivid prose style, Nussimbaum also developed a thriving journalistic career as an expert on Soviet Central Asia and the Muslim East. He dashed off books and articles with alarming ease on everything from the Baku oil industry to biographies of Lenin, Stalin, Mohammed, Nicholas II and the Iranian strongman Reza Shah Pahlavi (father of the shah overthrown in 1979). He was "a Weimar media star," Reiss writes, "a professional 'Man of the Caucasus.'" Friends and rivals were left guessing as to whether he was a genuine Turk, a member of some other exotic Asian nationality or, as a growing number of German rightists and Turkish nationalists suspected, merely another "Jewish falsifier." "Who is this Essad Bey?" demanded Leon Trotsky, writing from exile to his son in 1932. He was not the only one who wanted to know.

Yet Nussimbaum sailed blithely on. He was happy purveying tales of the mysterious East at a time when Central European readers had never been hungrier for stories of whirling dervishes and hidden mountain kingdoms. His writing satisfied a desire for the primitive, the instinctive and the exotic, themes that the Nazis would also play upon and amplify. The novel *Ali and Nino*, which he published in Vienna in 1937 under the pseudonym Kurban Said, was the culmination of his efforts, a Caspian *Romeo and Juliet* featuring a Muslim hero who is as wise as Mohammed, as lusty as Tarzan and as brutal as Horst Wessel. *Ali and Nino* should have been a hit with Nussimbaum's German-speaking readership, given the political sensibilities of the day. But doors were closing on Jewish writers no matter how fascistically inclined, and the book fell from sight.

The hero of Kurban Said's novel Ali and Nino, *an Azeri khan, suggests a young Osama bin Laden crossed with Rudolph Valentino.*

Because the details of Nussimbaum's life are so sketchy, Reiss has chosen to pad *The Orientalist* with material on the history of Russian radicalism, the rise of the German Freikorps, the 1922 assassination of Walther Rathenau and a good deal else besides. Some of it is well done, but much of it is embarrassingly simplistic. In general, Reiss has absorbed all too well the political line of *The New Yorker*, where he published a lengthy article on Nussimbaum in 1999. This is the ideology of the golden mean *über alles*, the belief that moderation and reason are one and the same, that the truth lies always in the middle, and that extremists of the left and right are brothers under the skin. As a result, *The Orientalist* fairly oozes with the sort of old-fashioned anti-Bolshevism that has Red Army soldiers all but eating babies for breakfast. Because left and right are conjoined in Reiss's mind, he is not concerned with the question of which, specifically, is responsible for what. Indeed, he holds them equally culpable for the horrors of the twentieth century, although he seems to regard the left as a bit more equal than the right. By undermining prospects for liberal reform, he claims, the radicals who assassinated Czar Alexander II in 1881 "indirectly caused the deaths of tens of millions who would perish in the famines and gulags of the next century." Thanks to its ruthlessness, the Cheka served as the model for Hitler's Gestapo. The only force rivaling the Bolshies in terms of sheer bloodthirstiness, he adds, were the Mongols, although Reiss does not seem to hold Lenin responsible for the rise of Genghis Khan.

The idea that the Soviets paved the way and that Hitler was merely reacting to the horrors of Bolshevism was the subject of the famous *Historikerstreit* (historians' war) of the 1980s, in which Jürgen Habermas accused such right-wing historians as Ernst Nolte of trying to shift the blame from the Nazis to the Communists—but this is placing Reiss in more serious intellectual company than he probably deserves. *The Orientalist* does better once the scene shifts to Weimar Germany, where Nussimbaum, following his conversion to Islam, plunged deeper and deeper into right-wing politics. In 1931 he associated himself with the German-Russian League Against Bolshevism, a group whose members for the most part either were Nazis or soon would be. He joined another far-right group, known as the Social Monarchist Party, which dreamed of the day when the kaiser would return to head a German workers' state. He hooked up with the Young Russian movement of Alexander Kazem-Bek, an exile group that was also heading in a fascist direction. (Kazem-Bek called himself Glava, or leader, and by the late 1930s his followers were sporting blue shirts, organizing rallies and punctuating his three-hour speeches with cries of "Glava! Glava!") Nussimbaum's works were so highly regarded on the far right that Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry included them in its recommended reading list of "excellent books for German minds" following the Nazi takeover in 1933. But then, two years later, the Nazis woke up to the fact that "Essad Bey" was actually Lev Nussimbaum, and his books were banned.

Reiss argues that Jewish Orientalists were better than their Christian equivalents because they revered the East and were not out to misappropriate it for their own imperialist purposes. In fact, as someone who seemed to care little about the East except as a backdrop for his own imagination, Nussimbaum pretty much fits the standard Orientalist model as Edward Said described it. On the other hand, if he appropriated the Orient for his own purposes, he has been appropriated right back by the Orient, where *Ali and Nino*, according to Reiss, has emerged as the national novel of "liberated" Azerbaijan since the fall of the Soviets in 1991 (although its champions, he says, refuse to believe its author was a Jew). Appropriation is a game played by both sides.

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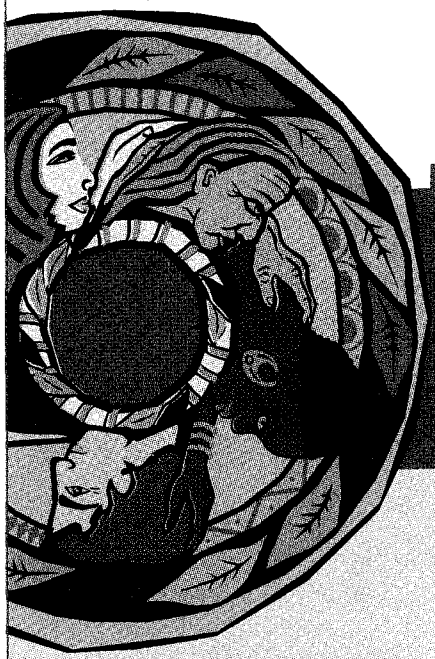
Nussimbaum is interesting as a case study, but is he really worth an entire book? Ultimately, the answer depends on our assessment of his literary worth. Reiss, who has clearly put an enormous amount of labor into this volume, writes that Nussimbaum's dozen-plus works of nonfiction are still "readable" after all these years, while *Ali and Nino* remains "his one enduring masterpiece." In an afterword to a recent edition by Anchor Books, Paul Theroux goes even further, comparing *Ali and Nino* to *Madame Bovary*, *Moby Dick*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *Don Quixote* and *Ulysses*—"novels so full of information that they seem to define a people."

This makes Nussimbaum seem very important indeed. But is such lofty praise warranted? Not by a long shot. Overwrought and melodramatic, *Ali and Nino* is a minor bit of exotica that in ordinary times would be no more than a curiosity but, after September 11, is deeply repellent. Imagine a young Osama bin Laden crossed with Rudolph Valentino, and you'll get an idea of the kind of hero—and values—the novel celebrates. Nussimbaum presents Ali, an Azeri khan, or chieftain, as a noble son of the desert: brutal, passionate and imbued with an Al Qaeda–like contempt for Western ways. Thus a chemistry textbook, in his view, is "foolish stuff, invented by barbarians, to create the impression that they are civilized." Women have "no more sense than an egg has hairs," while European law is contemptible because it does not accord with the Koran. In Baku's Muslim quarter, Nussimbaum writes,

> People shrug their shoulders and do justice in their own way. In the afternoon the plaintiffs come to the mosque where wise old men sit in a circle and pass sentence according to the laws of Sharia, the law of Allah: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Sometimes at night shrouded figures slip through the alleys. A dagger strikes like lightning, a little cry, and justice is done. Blood-feuds are running from house to house. Sometimes a sack is carried through the alleys when the night is darkest. A muffled groaning, a soft splash in the sea, and the sack disappears. The next day a man sits on the floor of his room, his robe torn, his eyes full of tears. He has fulfilled the law of Allah: death to the adulteress.

How murdering an adulteress reflects the principle of equity connoted by "an eye for an eye" is not explained, but then, Nussimbaum is above such prosaic matters. When Ali stabs a Christian acquaintance merely because he has taken his beloved Nino out for a ride, he narrates the act with



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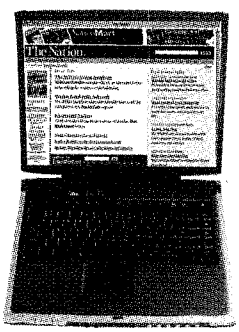

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sadistic glee: "I know where the deadly spot is. But I want to hear the enemy's pitiful voice just once more.... My muscles are taut. Just above the heart my dagger becomes one with the enemy's body. He writhes, again, and yet again." Observes a companion: "Beautifully done, Ali Khan. I'll admire you forever." When Ali's friend advises him to finish Nino off as well since she has dishonored herself, he magnanimously refuses. His friends, meanwhile, dream of an Azerbaijan purged of Armenians, and when the Turkish Army briefly occupies Baku, Ali contentedly observes the city's Russian population timidly slinking by in his presence: "For the first time in my life I was really at home in my own country."

Happiness here is the ability to make others feel humiliated and afraid. One searches *Ali and Nino* in vain for a note of disapproval, some indication of critical distance, a hint that the author does not like all that he surveys, but it is soon evident that Nussimbaum operates in an irony-free environment. He is not so much a novelist as a fantasist, and Ali is not so much a fictional character as an exercise in wish fulfillment. Forced to flee Baku under ignominious circumstances while still in his early teens, Nussimbaum clearly wishes that he could have been a handsome desert prince, galloping his noble steed along narrow mountain trails, making love to the beautiful Nino (in real life, Nussimbaum often found women to be sexually repellent), machine-gunning Bolsheviks and dying heroically at his post. Banned by the Nazis, hemmed in by growing anti-Semitism, he transferred his animus to the Soviets, who in his view—and apparently Reiss's—were the cause of it all. Sick and impoverished, Nussimbaum died in Italy in 1942. The Anchor Books edition of *Ali and Nino*, noting only that the author left Berlin after Hitler took power, makes it appear that he was an anti-Nazi refugee. In truth, he was fervently rooting for the Axis right to the end. "Oh," he wrote a few months before his death, "the victory will be such a thrilling experience!"

Rather than presenting a progressive alternative to Western stereotypes of the Arab and Muslim world, as Reiss implies, Jewish Orientalism was a complex, ambiguous affair, hence disturbing to both East and West. As Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar indicate in their new compendium, *Orientalism and the Jews*, all sides in the great debate over "the Jewish question" have used such labels for their own purposes. Anti-Semites have argued that Jews are displaced Orientals because they wanted them out of the Christian West, while some Zionists have agreed because they wanted them out as well. Other Zionists rejected any such Oriental tag because they believed that the purpose of a Jewish state was not to adapt to prevailing circumstances in the Middle East but to Europeanize them. John Efron, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, describes how both Christian anti-Semitism and the stifling Jewish Orthodoxy of his day led the nineteenth-century German-Jewish scholar Abraham Geiger to celebrate the Islamic tolerance that had allowed Jews to

COURTESY RANDOM HOUSE

Lev Nussimbaum, Berlin

flourish in Muslim Spain. The historian Heinrich Graetz, Efron goes on, similarly observed that under the Arabs, "the sons of Judah were free to raise their heads and did not need to look out with fear and humiliation. Unhindered, they were allowed to develop their powers in the midst of a free, simple, and talented people."

Ignaz Goldziher, who lived a generation or two later than Geiger or Graetz (he died in 1921), was even more extreme in his identification with the Orient, which he hoped to use as a cudgel against both Christians and Jews. After a visit to Damascus in 1890, he wrote, "I truly entered in those weeks into the spirit of Islam to such an extent that ultimately I became inwardly convinced that I myself was Muslim and judiciously discovered that this was the only religion which, even in its doctrinal and official formulation, can satisfy philosophical minds." *Pace* Edward Said, Goldziher did not believe that "the Orient and everything in it was, if not patently inferior to, then in need of corrective study by the West." On the contrary, he believed the Muslim East was superior to anything the West had to offer, which is why he hoped to make use of it "to elevate Judaism to a similar rational level."

If Goldziher did not choose the Nussimbaumian solution of outright conversion, he stopped just short. Like Geiger, he regarded Islam as the continuation of the healthy mainstream of Abrahamic monotheism, from which Eastern European Talmudism had deviated. Jacob Israel De Haan, who was born in the Netherlands in 1881, took a different route, although in some respects to the same end. As Michael Berkowitz tells it in another contribution to *Orientalism and the Jews*, the multitalented De Haan was many things to many people. To Dutch readers, he was famous as a poet and pioneering advocate of gay rights, but also notorious as an outspoken advocate of man-boy love, a stance that got him kicked off the Dutch Social Democratic newspaper *Het Volk*, where he was responsible for the children's column. Among certain Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) Jews, he was a saintly figure, revered for both his piety and his efforts to defend the Haredi community in Palestine against the impending Zionist state.

Nowadays we don't think of the ultra-Orthodox as particularly friendly to homosexuality, much less man-boy love. Yet Berkowitz, who teaches modern Jewish history at University College, London, astutely argues that while De Haan devoted quatrain after quatrain to the beautiful Arab boys he encountered in Palestine following his move there in 1919, his poems were imbued not just with erotic yearning but with "ambivalence and restraint" that the rabbinate might have found reminiscent of biblical love poetry. "What do I see when I see you?" De Haan asks in one poem:

> Everything but you.
> I hear the faraway melody.
> Of the heartbreaking song.

As David laments in a similar vein about his adultery with Bathsheba in Psalm 51: "For I know my transgressions, and my sin is always before me." Moreover, Berkowitz contends that the ultra-Orthodox attitude toward homosexuality is not as uniformly hostile as one might think. Rather than consistently attack homosexuality, he says, the rabbinate often treated it as "a minor transgression." He notes that there are "prominent homosexual and homoerotic motifs in Jewish mysticism and poetry," that at least one rabbinic authority stresses "the imperative of exclusive male bond-

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ing in mystical community-building" and that it should be remembered that "the world of the Haredim is a closed circle of men, which is in great part obsessed with controlling and directing the sexual energy of its community." As is often the case, no community is more sexually charged than one devoted to sexual asceticism, which is why a poet who mingles the mystical and the erotic and who writes about subterranean passions that other members of the community might also feel (even if they cannot bring themselves to admit it) could play such an important and valued role.

What united all these concerns for De Haan was his characteristically idiosyncratic concept of Jewish Orientalism. Whereas Goldziher saw Eastern European Orthodoxy as degenerate, De Haan saw the Haredim as a natural part of the Palestinian landscape, where he hoped they would continue to coexist peacefully with the Arab community. This was at a time when the main body of Jewish Orthodoxy still rejected Zionism as a deeply heretical effort to "hurry" the coming of the Messiah by abandoning the Diaspora and returning to the Holy Land before God had given his express approval. In embracing Orthodoxy and rejecting Zionism, De Haan "reconceived the Orient," to quote Berkowitz, "as an enclave for pious Jews, under the tutelage of British colonialism, and in close communion with Palestine's Arabs"—a dangerous stance in a period when Jewish nationalists were just beginning to flex their muscles.

In 1924 De Haan was assassinated. Although suspicions have long settled on the far-right Revisionist Zionist movement of Vladimir Jabotinsky, Berkowitz argues that the hit was ordered by the top echelons of the mainstream Zionist movement for a variety of reasons: because De Haan had entered into negotiations with the Arab elite; because, as a correspondent for leading Dutch and British newspapers, he had published numerous stories that were embarrassing to the Zionist establishment; and because he was about to expose improprieties involving Zionist land purchases, including a plot to murder a local Jew who had refused to cooperate in an important real estate deal. The movement itself has never admitted complicity, and Walter Laqueur's all but official *History of Zionism* (1972) omits any mention of the assassination.

With De Haan out of the way, the majority of Orthodox Jews made their peace with Zionism, Jewish-Arab relations went into free fall and the Zionist regime that emerged after 1948 was hostile not just to the Palestinians but to Jews from the Middle East and North Africa as well. As Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, a historian at Ben-Gurion University, points out in another essay in *Orientalism and the Jews*, a series of articles in the newspaper *Ha'aretz* in 1949 summed up the dominant attitude toward the new wave of Jewish immigrants from Arab lands:

> We are dealing with people whose primitivism is at a peak, whose level of knowledge is visibly one of absolute ignorance, and worse, who have little talent for understanding anything intellectual. Generally, they are also slightly better than the general level of the Arabs, Negroes, and Berbers in the same regions.

De Haan's Orientalism did not provide a way out for the Jews of Palestine since, among other things, it made no allowance for the Arabs' legitimate aspirations for independence from the British. But Zionist Occidentalism has not provided a way out either. Rather than siding with the East or the West, perhaps the real aim should be to rise above both. ■

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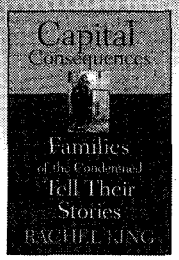

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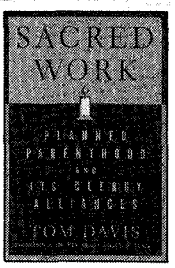

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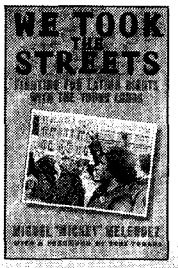

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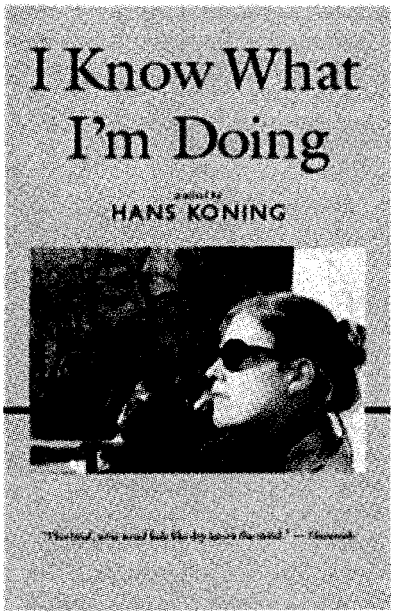

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Fear and Loathing in Italy

FREDERIKA RANDALL

THE DAY OF THE OWL.
By Leonardo Sciascia. New York Review Books. 124 pp. Paper $12.95.

EQUAL DANGER.
By Leonardo Sciascia. New York Review Books. 119 pp. Paper $12.95.

THE MORO AFFAIR.
By Leonardo Sciascia. New York Review Books. 175 pp. Paper $12.95.

Nineteen sixty-eight came early to Italy—it began with student protests at the University of Trento in 1967—and lasted longer, arguably, than anywhere else. The Italian 1960s (which ran well into the 1970s) were remarkably turbulent times, from the "battle of Valle Giulia," where students fought police hand to hand in Rome's Villa Borghese gardens, to the extraordinary wave of strikes and protests in the factories of the *autunno caldo*, the "hot autumn" of 1969, and thereafter; from the extreme right-wing "strategy of tension"—lethal bombings in public places around Italy that aimed to instill a climate of fear and create demand for authoritarian rule—to the rise of the ultra-left Red Brigades, who killed scores of Italians before they were finally defused in the early 1980s. With its calls for revolution, its working-class militancy and a strong feminist movement that led to popular referendums endorsing the rights to divorce and to abortion, Italy's 1968 created a new social and political landscape that neither the ruling Christian Democratic Party nor its opposition, the Communists, recognized as their own. Yet for all the shock waves *il sessantotto* sent through Italy's political class, the Christian Democrats stubbornly clung to power.

Except for Pier Paolo Pasolini, no Italian writer examined that power more perceptively than Leonardo Sciascia, who time and again wrote of the dark forces that would plague Italy in the last decades of the twentieth century. The violence that would erupt from the ultraleft and the neo-Fascist right, the yawning corruption and deceit at the heart of the political system, the menacing hand of the Mafia—it was all there in the prophetic novels Sciascia wrote in the late 1960s, before much of it had actually happened. Like an oracle, Sciascia was eloquent and brooding, fierce but delicately paradoxical. He is a writer who has never been easy to classify, especially for English-language readers, who have had to make do with only a few—mostly novels—of the long shelf of books he left when he died of cancer in 1989. Although he is best known for his crime fiction, he also wrote short stories, historical fiction and nonfiction, and sophisticated reportage.

Sciascia had a gift for seeing things about Italy that others didn't see and for seeing them before others noticed them, which made him an intellectual loner, a solitary mind. He could make mistakes, as proud loners do, but he was too smart not to see the evils that hid under the surface of Italian life, and too honest not to tell the truth as he saw it. He was honest in his laconic, oracular way, which left so much unsaid. Sciascia is the writer you need in your pocket when you travel around Italy. He demands that you look behind appearances and is the ideal antidote to sunny, mindless Tuscanophilia.

Among Sciascia's Italian peers are writers who carry their meaning with them into English better—Italo Calvino with his tales of charm and erudition; Primo Levi with his devastatingly quiet writings on the Nazi concentration camps—but none have seeped so deeply into Italian identity as Sciascia. Reaching for the words to describe some baleful aspect of life, an Italian will say, "It's like a Sciascia story." A Sciascia story is one in which murders take place, so he is usually classified as a crime writer, which he is not, really. He wrote enigmatic fiction and so he is called metaphysical, when the striking thing about his novels is how closely they hew to the reality of Italian affairs and history—the manners, the morals, the way the political system colluded with other interests, including organized crime. More than describe Italian life, his novels predict it. "Delphic realist" would be closer to the mark than "metaphysical."

Frederika Randall is a journalist and translator who lives in Rome.

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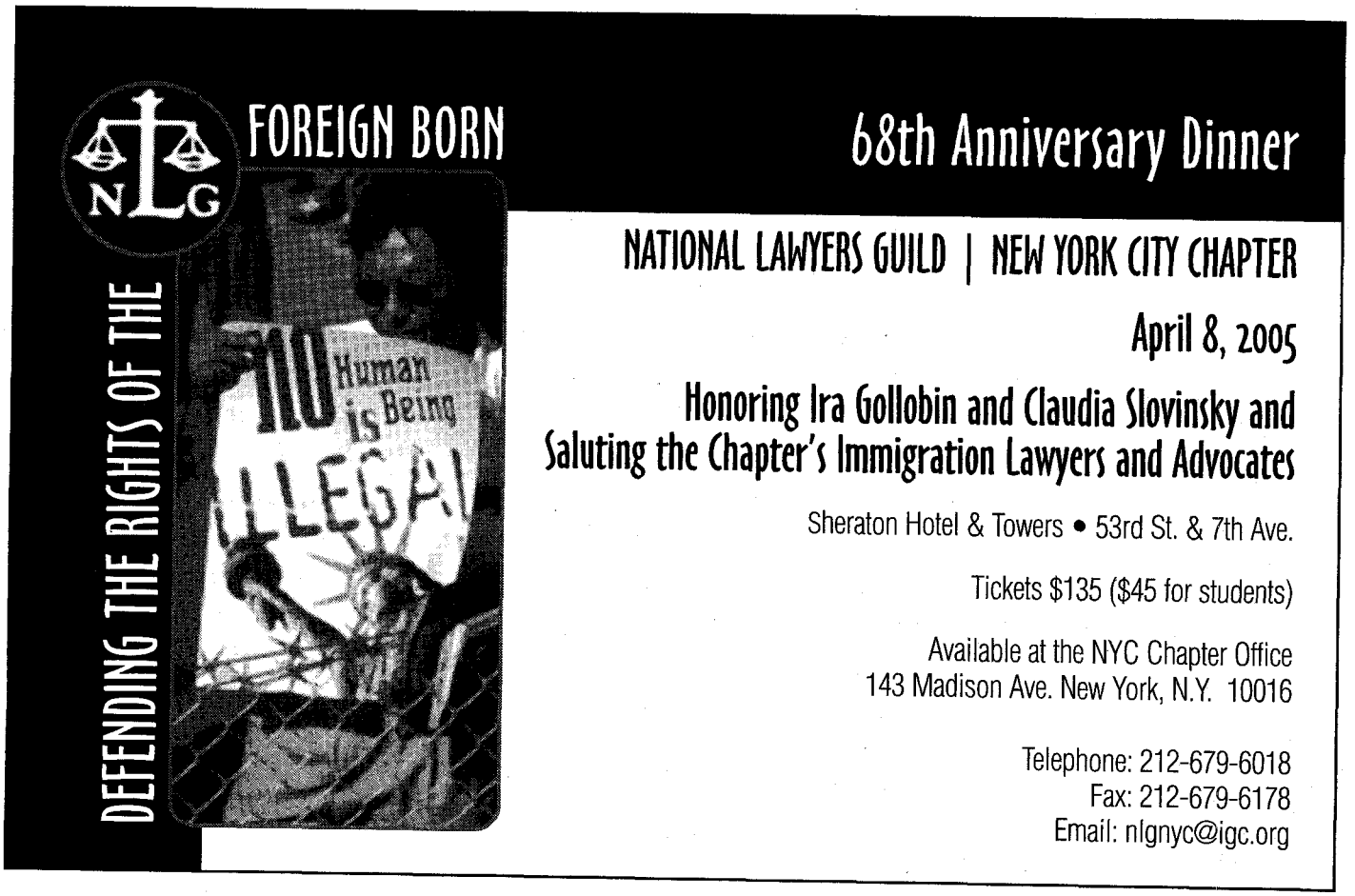
Sciascia has never been very well translated, not that his beautiful Italian—his winding, energetic sentences; the high diction looped with his native Sicilian cadences—is easy to render. What's hardest to capture in English is the tone: the flickering dry humor, followed by an undertow of evil and dread that goes far beyond a mere noir atmosphere. The Christian Democratic politician Aldo Moro was once described as the "embodiment of Southern pessimism." Although he wouldn't have said so, there was a streak of that pessimism in Sciascia, despite his being a man of the left and an admirer of the Enlightenment.

Born in the hardscrabble hill town of Racalmuto, Sicily, in 1921, Sciascia grew up in a world centered around the sulfur mines. His grandfather had been a *caruso*, a miner, and his father was a bookkeeper with the company. The family's finances were pinched, and when Sciascia finished school his father did not have the means to send him to university. So he went to a teachers' college and got the diploma he needed to teach elementary school. He was a fierce young intellectual; his students were impoverished, hungry and distracted. Mercifully for both, Sciascia eventually landed a desk job in the school administration. When he became known as a writer, he moved to Palermo, the island's intellectual metropolis, where in the late 1950s the Mafia had begun to put down roots in construction and public works. Sciascia was intensely skeptical of Italian politics, yet he was a participant. He sat on the Palermo city council as an independent with the Communist Party, and after he broke with the Communists in 1976 over their proposed "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, he was elected as a deputy in Rome and then to the European Parliament in Strasbourg with the Radicals, a civil rights party.

Since only a few of Sciascia's books have been translated into English, the appearance of the novels *The Day of the Owl* and *Equal Danger*, as well as his nonfiction account of the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, *The Moro Affair*, is a most welcome event. The translations were commissioned in decades past for British editions and, in the case of the two novels, do not quite convey the richness of Sciascia's prose; but all three volumes have good new prefaces.

The Day of the Owl, published in 1961, is probably Sciascia's best-known book. It offers the first account in his fiction of the Mafia, at a time when few Italians knew anything about the Sicilian underworld, and those who did know often denied that it existed. The novel's protagonist, Captain Bellodi, is a policeman from the North of Italy who is trying to untangle Sicilian *omertà*, the habit of silent complicity with the Mafia. One morning in town, an honest building contractor is shot while boarding the bus, and none of the dozens of people who were at the scene remember being there or having seen anything. As Bellodi digs deeper into the crime, he sees that fear of and complicity with the Mafia go far up the ladder, right into the political system. So, Bellodi asks himself, why should people trust a policeman—and a non-Sicilian at that? Out in the countryside he meets a farmer with a dog called Barruggieddu. What does that mean? he asks the farmer, unfamiliar with the Sicilian word. "Someone who's bad," replies the man. The name, Bellodi conjectures, must come from *bargello*—the old-fashioned title of police chief. Here is a man who considers the chief of police as evil as his own dog. And why not? For centuries the police had bitten people like this man:

> 'Hound of the law', he thought of himself; and then he went on to think of the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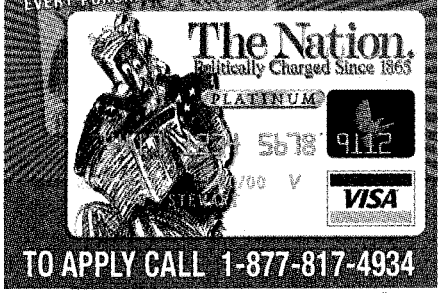

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> 'hounds of the Lord,' who were the Dominicans, and of the Inquisition, a word which conjured up a dark, empty crypt and stirred gloomy echoes of history. He found himself wondering with anguish whether he, too, the fanatical hound of the law, had not already crossed the threshold of that crypt.

Perhaps there was something of that terrible fanaticism in the serious misstep regarding the Mafia that Sciascia made near the end of his life. It was 1987, and the Italian police and courts were fighting the Cosa Nostra with some success for the first time. In a notorious article Sciascia attacked the reform mayor of Palermo, Leoluca Orlando, and the anti-Mafia prosecutor Paolo Borsellino as self-promoting "anti-Mafia professionals." It was a reckless thing to say, playing right into the hands of the very people who, as Sciascia well knew, had terrorized the South for years. (Borsellino was later murdered by the Mafia, along with his five bodyguards.) It was the kind of ferocious solitary stand that Sciascia, who hated being part of a chorus and who was skeptical, if not cynical, about the prospect that real change could come to Italy, took more than once in his life. No one saw the deceit and the hypocrisy of the Christian Democrats as clearly as Sciascia did, but he was peculiarly unable to appreciate that the system, for once, might be doing something right rather than conniving with crime.

The underworld and the way it is interwoven with power is the subject of Sciascia's 1971 novel *Equal Danger*, about an unnamed Latin country where judges and prosecutors are being methodically murdered. (In 1976 *Equal Danger* was adapted by the great director Francesco Rosi into the chilling *Cadaveri eccellenti* [*Illustrious Corpses*], one of at least six films based on Sciascia's books.) Rogas, the contemplative, brooding police inspector assigned to the case, quickly grasps that he is not expected to inquire into the questionable probity of the murdered men, and that he should look for the killers among the far-left groups on the margins of society (just as the police blamed the left for several real-life crimes in the 1960s and '70s, notably a deadly bombing in a Milan bank in 1969, that were in fact carried out by Italy's far right). In a postscript to the novel Sciascia said he was writing about "power...that we can roughly term *mafioso*." Mafioso in the sense of a web of interlocking powers—criminals, business, politicians, police and the courts—that in the 1960s would have been called "the system."

In 1978 the Italian system came under one of its harshest trials when Aldo Moro, a former prime minister and a powerful figure in the ruling Christian Democratic Party, was abducted by the Red Brigades, an insurrectionary Marxist-Leninist group whose early members were veterans of the 1968 rebellions on Italy's campuses. Moro was held for fifty-five days in an apartment in Rome ("the people's court"), where the *brigatisti* interrogated him intensively about the political strategy of the Christian Democrats. When the government refused to negotiate for Moro's release, he was murdered by his captors, dumped in the trunk of a car and left on Via Caetani in the center of the capital, more or less halfway between the headquarters of the Christian Democrats and that of the Communist Party, the two churches of Italian cold war politics.

The kidnapping—recounted in Sciascia's fascinating work of reportage, *The Moro Affair,* published just months after the murder—took place, not by chance, as Italians were contemplating a momentous change in their political equation. Throughout the postwar years Italy had been deeply divided between the Christian Democratic Party, which led every government since 1945, and the Italian Communist Party, which could draw more than 30 percent of the vote but was systematically excluded from holding power at the national level, partly as a result of American pressure.

In the mid-1970s, mindful of how Salvador Allende, Chile's democratically elected left-wing president, had been overthrown in a violent, CIA-backed military coup, Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer advocated a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, a plan to share power whose most passionate advocate on the other side was Aldo Moro. For Moro, the *compromesso storico* represented "the inevitable convergence of parallel lines," a paradoxical formula that so enraged US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at a meeting with Moro in Washington that he threw the Italian politician out of the room. The Red Brigades looked upon a pact between Communists and Christian Democrats with equal disgust, seeing it as just another obstacle to the revolution they believed was drawing near.

Sciascia also detested the historic compromise, on the grounds that the Commu-

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nists should stay in the opposition and not join the system, and he went so far as to break with the party on the issue. Whether he was right or not is a matter of dispute even today.

The Moro Affair is Sciascia's burning, obsessive effort to make sense of Moro's fate. Sciascia sees him as the epitome of Christian Democratic ambiguity but credits him with great intelligence and shrewdness. Sciascia is not very interested in probing the motives or strategy of the Red Brigades; all the drama in his tale lies in the troubled relationship between Moro and his fellow Christian Democrats. While in captivity, Moro wrote dozens of letters to government ministers and party colleagues begging them to negotiate for his release; in Sciascia's view, he was bargaining for time, hoping that the police would discover his hideaway.

Moro wrote his letters in the way he always wrote and spoke, a cryptic, incomprehensible Christian Democratic idiom that Pasolini once characterized as "the new Latin" because it fell on Italian ears like the language the Church used before the mass was recited in the vernacular. He was obliged, writes Sciascia, "to communicate through the language of noncommunication." But it didn't matter how Moro wrote, since his Christian Democratic colleagues had already given him up for dead. Fifty "Friends of Moro," one of them a cardinal, signed an open letter saying that based on the letters he had been writing, Moro was "not the man we knew." This, Sciascia argues, amounted to a death sentence. His party fellows did not want Moro to come back alive. They decided it was more important to refuse to negotiate with the Red Brigades than it was to save one politician's—a former prime minister's—life.

"You have no idea," says one character in Sciascia's novel about Catholic mayhem, *Todo Modo*, "what people who are all church and family, people who go around with a prayer book in hand, people who say they love their neighbors as themselves, are capable of.... The most vicious crimes I have seen, the most deliberately planned, the most difficult to uncover, the craziest crimes and the simplest ones, are those committed by people who have knees like this (he shaped his hands into a huge loaf of bread) for all the time they have spent behind the altar rail or at the confessional booth." This is Sciascia writing in 1974, four years before Moro's kidnapping.

Sciascia was appalled by the Christian Democrats' hard line on Moro. Here, he acidly observed, was a party that had never shown any particular regard for the state or the rule of law, suddenly discovering a vocation for institutional rigor. Perhaps, he suggested, they were afraid of what Moro was telling the terrorists in his interrogations. Why, he asked, were the police so bumbling in their efforts to find Moro, despite their great display of effort?

The Christian Democrats were certainly hypocritical, but in retrospect it is harder to say whether they (and the Communists, who also advocated a hard line) were wrong in refusing to negotiate with the Red Brigades for Moro's release. Historians of the period point out that after Moro's death the terrorists began to lose momentum and backing on the far left, although they went on killing for several more years, and later an offshoot arose in the 1990s.

As prophetic as he often was in his writing, Sciascia did not foresee the astonishing path Italian politics would take after the Christian Democrats imploded in 1993, brought down by the *Tangentopoli* ("Bribesville") corruption scandals after nearly half a century in office. Indeed, it is hard to imagine what he would have said about Italy's current prime minister, the extravagant billionaire Silvio Berlusconi. We can be sure he wouldn't have been tender. Although everything in Italy has changed, the country Sciascia described has not so much disappeared as mutated. The president of the Sicilian region, currently on trial for Mafia association, represents a small party descended from the Christian Democrats that now belongs to Berlusconi's right-wing governing coalition. And Berlusconi's right-hand man in the Forza Italia party, also a Sicilian, Marcello dell'Utri, stands convicted—pending appeal—under similar charges.

More urgent and less reflective than Sciascia's fiction, *The Moro Affair* is caught up in the heat of the moment, and not everything he wrote in it has stood the test of time. Yet the universe Sciascia evokes in the book is much the same as in his novels. In Sciascia's world, crimes are committed but light is only dimly shed on them. We will never know what went on in the corridors of power during the fifty-five days of Moro's captivity. Like his fictional protagonists, Sciascia the journalist peers deep but can only half make sense of what he sees. ■

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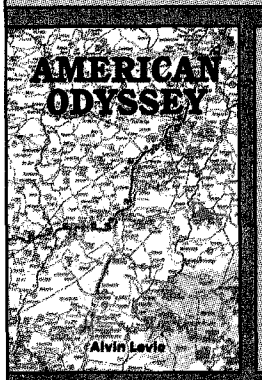

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ORGANIZATIONS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. First meeting is Monday, February 14, 7 PM, Unitarian Universalist Congregation, 1911 Cliff Valley Way NE (just off I-85 at the North Druid Hills exit). Mel Rechtman (404) 325-8435, rechtman@bellsouth.net.

TUCSON, AZ, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Dave at (520) 885-4767.

DENTON (CORINTH), TX *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (940) 498-4485 or john2348@charter.net for more information.

WILLOW SPRINGS, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. E-mail Mollie Belcher at Mjb1009@msn.com for more information.

JOIN THE NEW CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP! Contact Jim Hurley at (434) 973-4807.

GAINESVILLE, FL, "THE NATION IS US" discussion group forming. Connect to Lewwelge2@aol.com or (904) 398-2335.

NEW SAN FRANCISCO *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP to meet regularly on Nob Hill. Please contact George Schroeder via e-mail for more information: georges1202@comcast.net.

BREVARD, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. E-mail Jim at JKeenen@aol.com or Don at GAIA@citcom.net.

THE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP of the Inland Northwest is forming in the Cheney/Spokane area of eastern Washington. For information contact Gil Murray. Tel: (509) 235-1574; e-mail murraygil@aol.com.

ATTENTION BENELUX *NATION* READERS! Want your own *Nation* discussion group? Group to meet in Hasselt (Limburg), Belgium. For further information e-mail associates@thenation.com or write The Nation Associates, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, USA.

PORTLAND/VANCOUVER *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets every second Sunday afternoon of the month. For more information, contact Mark Stephan at (503) 240-4965.

SOUTH YORK COUNTY, ME, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please contact Herb. Call (207) 646-5431, e-mail pala@maine.rr.com.

WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

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NATION STUDENT OUTREACH: Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

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PART OR FULL-TIME public relations work sought by former wire-service workplace columnist. (305) 205-8281.

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The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

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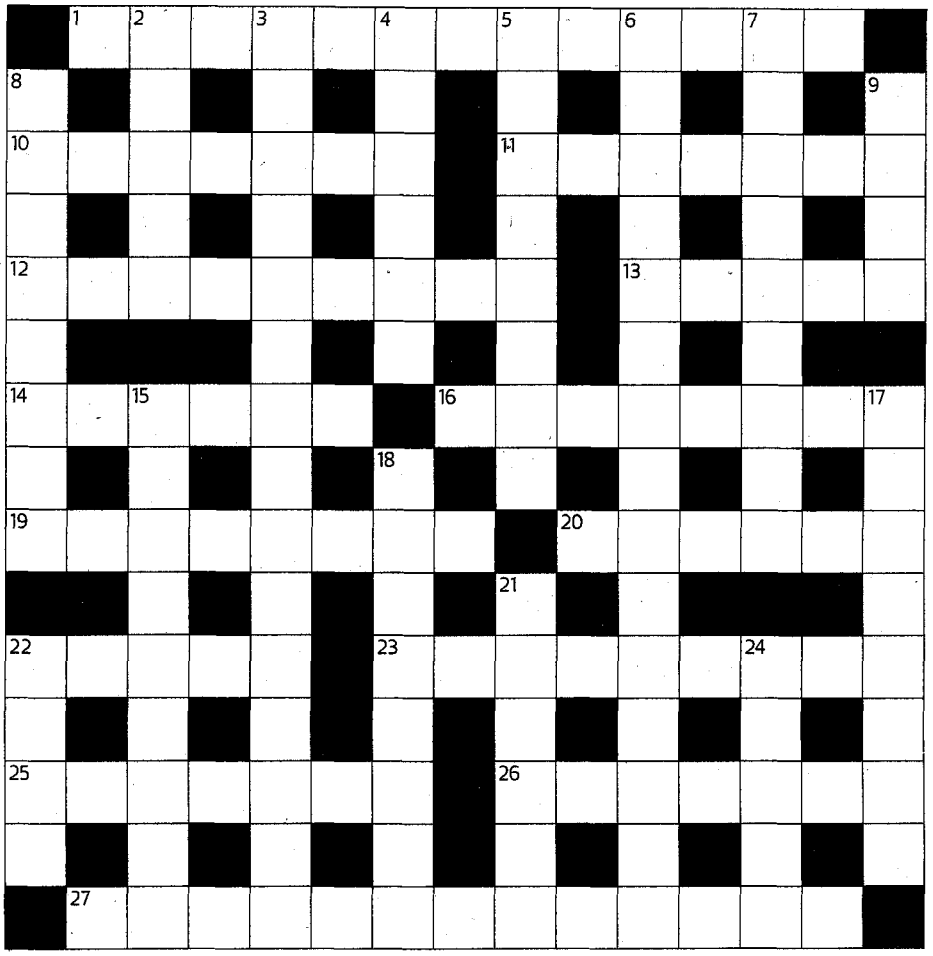
PUZZLE NO. 2980

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One who makes sense out of gibberish has a place to bury things and go back and talk (in current fashion) with her. (13)

10 Some might rest on them, having done it all—or their branches. (7)

11 Your friend, the pianist Hess, shows us the city. (7)

12 Better than cleanliness? (A direct phone hookup to the deity? To a point!) (9)

13 A short month to notice the number in a shell, possibly. (5)

14 To perceive a fact directly when I get a cracked nut with it. (6)

16 OKs a document perhaps, but in it I also remove nothing, finally. (8)

19 Long before the last three letters, almost meets the requirements, but leaves the answer here. (4,4)

20 Called a folly of a Secretary of State, one state is to query another little one around it. (6)

22 Save for this day, you'll find a ray around in here. (5)

23 A word of warning, of course, where you might put Dobbin to prevent unpleasant action. (9)

25 Set Ms. Peep here—it's supposed to make you feel better with no pharmacological effect. (7)

26 Did Amelia make a foolish mistake in London in designing her costume? (7)

27 The almost-forgetful husband might rush to the store at the last minute this way, now. (3,3,7)

DOWN

2 and **9** The Ruler of the Queen's Navee copied all the letters in a good one. (5,4)

3 Do you get it by stoking the furnace ahead of time? One in the race might hope to survive it! (11,4)

4 Someone said the world was his, with the sound of wringing hands starting the rest badly. (6)

5 Getting ready to be shot all over again—or just lying in bed? (8)

6 What an organist might do to shake up the audience, and be really trying. (4,3,3,5)

7 The Gypsies were supposed to be, originally. (9)

8 Using semaphore to show how run down you may be getting? (8)

9 See 2

15 In which a dicky bird was queried as to having weakness of intellect to make hid the possible answer. (3,6)

17 Little ones, either in the water or in the house… (5,3)

18 …but only partly fish that might appear under foot. (4-4)

21 One who pokes into the source of trouble to keep Robert supplying it. (6)

22 As one sometimes does before entering into talks the modern way. (4)

24 In our time, a person proves to be one engaged in pitching. (2,3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2979

H	O	P	S	K	I	P	A	N	D		J	U	M	P
O		A		O		A		A		S		P		A
L	A	T	E	R	A	L		D	O	N	A	T	O	R
D		I		E		A		I		O		I		T
	R	E	D	A	C	T	O	R		B	O	G	E	Y
O		N				A				D		H		D
N	U	T	T	Y		B	A	R	R	I	S	T	E	R
E				I		L		E		S				E
S	T	O	N	E	D	E	A	F		H	O	P	E	S
B		U		L				R				A		S
R	A	S	E	D		N	E	E	D	L	I	N	G	
E		T		I		I		S		I		A		T
A	V	I	G	N	O	N		H	A	N	D	C	A	R
T		N		G		T		E		E		E		O
H	I	G	H		T	H	E	D	A	N	S	A	N	T

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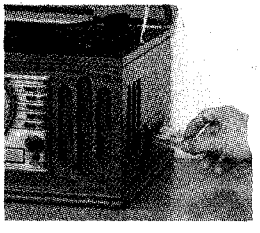

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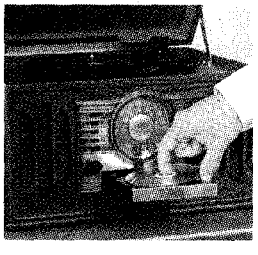

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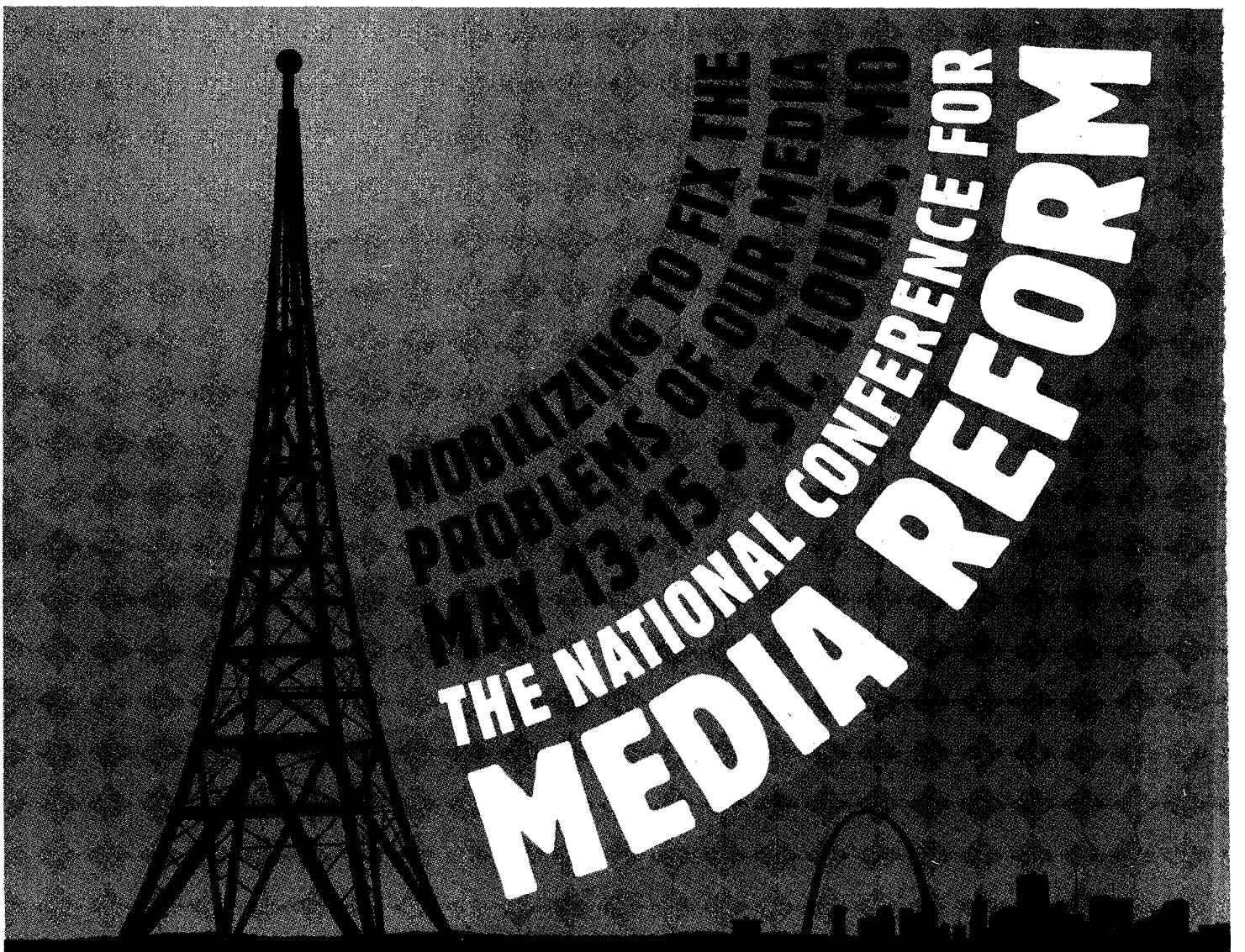

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